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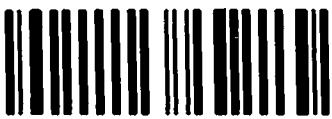
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PRACTICAL OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE,

ADDRESSED TO

THE WORKING CLASSES

AND

THEIR EMPLOYERS.

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BY

H. BROUGHAM, Esq. M.P. F.R.S.

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1825.

Dr 0/ R 40
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GEORGE BIRKBECK, M.D.

President of the London Mechanics Institution.

As I have chiefly in deference to your opinion, sanctioned by that of our fellow-labourers in the North, undertaken to make the following pages public at the present moment, I beg leave to inscribe them with your name.

You are aware that they contain a portion of a larger discourse, which more pressing but less agreeable pursuits have long prevented me from finishing, upon the important subject of Popular Education, in its three branches, Infant Schools, Elementary Schools (for reading and writing), and Adult Schools. It is only with the second of these branches that the Legislature can safely interfere. Any meddling on the part of Government with the first would be inexpedient; with the last, perilous to civil and religious liberty. In conformity with this opinion I have brought the question of Elementary Education repeatedly before Parliament, where the lukewarmness of many, and the honest and by me ever to be respected scruples of some, have hitherto much obstructed my design: the other two branches belong to the country at large. Having, in concert with those friends who hold the same doctrines, endeavoured to establish Infant Schools, it seems to follow from the same view of the subject, that I should lend any little help in my power towards fixing public attention upon the Education of Adults; by discussing the best means of aiding the people in using the knowledge gained at schools, for their moral and intellectual improvement.

A considerable portion of the Observations was inserted in the Edinburgh Review, together with a good deal of other matter, and with one or two statements in which I do not altogether concur.

PRACTICAL OBSERVATIONS,

&c.

I BEGIN by assuming that there is no class of the community so entirely occupied with labour as not to have an hour or two every other day at least, to bestow upon the pleasure and improvement to be derived from reading—or so poor as not to have the means of contributing something towards purchasing this gratification, the enjoyment of which, beside the present amusement, is the surest way both to raise our character and better our condition.—Let us consider how the attainment of this inestimable advantage may be most successfully promoted.

It is no doubt manifest, that the people themselves must be the great agents in accomplishing the work of their own instruction. Unless they deeply feel the usefulness of knowledge, and resolve to make some sacrifices for the acquisition of it, there can be no reasonable prospect of this grand object being attained. But it is equally clear, that to wait until the whole people with one accord take the determination to labour in this good work, would be endless. A portion of the community may be sensible of its advantages, and willing at any fair price to seek them, long before the same laudable feeling becomes universal; and their successful efforts to better their intellectual condition cannot fail to spread more widely the love of learning, and the disrelish for sensual and vulgar gratifications.

But although the people must be the source and the instruments of their own improvement, they may be essentially aided in their efforts to instruct themselves. Impediments which might be sufficient to retard or wholly to obstruct their progress, may be removed; and efforts which, unassisted, might prove fruitless, arising perhaps from a transient, or only a partial enthusiasm for the attainment of knowledge, may, through judicious encouragement, become effectual, and settle into a lasting and an universal habit. A little attention to the difficulties that principally beset the working classes in their search after information, will lead us to the knowledge both of the direction in which their more affluent neighbours can lend them most valuable assistance, and of the part which must be borne by themselves.

Their difficulties may all be classed under one or other of two heads—want of money, and want of time. To the first belongs the difficulty of obtaining those books and instructors which persons in easier circumstances can command; and to the second

it is owing that the same books and instructors are not adapted to them, which suffice to teach persons who have leisure to go through the whole course of any given branch of science. In some lines of employment, there is a peculiar difficulty in finding time for acquiring knowledge; as in those which require severe labour, or, though less severe, yet in the open air; for here the tendency to sleep immediately after it ceases, and the greater portion of sleep required, oppose very serious obstacles to instruction: on the other hand those occupations are less unfavourable to reflection, and have a considerable tendency to enlarge the mind.

The first method, then, which suggests itself for promoting knowledge among the poor, is the encouragement of cheap publications; and in no country is this more wanted than in Great Britain, where, with all our expertness in manufactures, we have never succeeded in printing books at so little as double the price required by our neighbours on the continent. A gown, which anywhere else would cost half a guinea, may be made in this country for half a crown; but a volume, fully as well or better printed, and on paper which, if not as fine, is quite fine enough, and far more agreeable to the eyes, than could be bought in London for half a guinea, costs only six francs, or less than five shillings, at Paris. The high price of labour in a trade where so little can be done, or at least has been done by machinery, is one of the causes of this difference. But the direct tax upon paper is another; and the determination to print upon paper of a certain price is a third; and the aversion to crowd the page is a fourth. Now all of these, except the first, may be got over. The duty on paper is threepence a pound, which must increase the price of an octavo volume eightpence or ninepence; and this upon paper of every kind, and printing of every kind; so that if by whatever means the price of a book were reduced to the lowest, say to three or four shillings, about a fourth or a fifth must be added for the tax; and this book, brought as low as possible to accommodate the poor man, with the coarsest paper and most ordinary type, must pay exactly as much to government as the finest hot-pressed work of the same size. This tax ought, therefore, by all means, to be given up; but though, from its being the same upon all paper used in printing, no part of it can be saved by using coarse paper, much of it may be saved by crowding the letter-press, and having a very narrow margin. This experiment has been tried of late in London upon a considerable scale; but it may easily be carried a great deal further. Thus, Hume's History* has been begun; and one volume, containing about two

* It is to be regretted that any edition of this popular work should ever be published without notes, to warn the reader of the author's partiality when moved by the interest of civil and ecclesiastical controversy, and his careless and fanciful narrative when occupied with other events.

and a half of the former editions, has been published *. It is sold for six shillings and sixpence; but it contains a great number of cuts neatly executed; the paper is much better than is necessary; and the printing is perfectly well done. Were the cuts omitted, and the most ordinary paper and type used, the price might be reduced to 4*s.* or 4*s.* 6*d.*; and a book might thus be sold for 12*s.* or 14*s.*, which now costs perhaps above two pounds. A repeal of the tax upon paper, which is truly a tax upon knowledge, and falls the heaviest upon those who most want instruction, would further reduce the price to nine or ten shillings.

The method of publishing in Numbers is admirably suited to the circumstances of the classes whose income is derived from wages. Twopence is easily saved in a week by almost any labourer; and by a mechanic sixpence in a week may without difficulty be laid by. Those who have not attended to such matters, would be astonished to find how substantial a meal of information may be had by twopenny-worths. Seven numbers, for fourteen pence, comprise Franklin's Life and Essays; four for eightpence, Bacon's Essays; and 36 for six shillings, the whole of the Arabian Nights. Cook's Voyages, in threepenny numbers, with many good engravings, may be had complete for seven shillings; and Plutarch's Lives, for ten shillings, will soon be finished †. The Mirror, a weekly publication, containing much matter of harmless and even improving amusement, selected with very considerable taste, has besides, in almost every number, information of a most instructive kind. Its great circulation must prove highly beneficial to the bulk of the people. I understand, that of some parts upwards of 80,000 were printed, and there can be no doubt that the entertainment which is derived from reading the lighter essays, may be made the means of conveying knowledge of a more solid and useful description—a consideration which I trust the conductor will always bear in mind. The Mechanics Magazine ‡, most ably edited by Mr. Robertson, has from its establishment, had an extensive circulation; and it communicates for threepence a week, far more valuable information, both scientific and practical, than was ever before placed within the reach of those who could afford to pay six times as much for it. A similar work is published at Glasgow upon the same plan. Upon a similar plan and at the same price a valuable work, called the "*Register of Arts and Sciences*," has been published weekly for about eight months. The Chemist, also for threepence, is learnedly and judiciously conducted by Mr. Hodgkin, and contains an admirable collection of the most useful chemical papers and intelligence. A Mechanics Register has lately

* Dolby's cheap Histories. † Limbird's Classics.

‡ Knight and Lacy; who have done great service by publishing other works of singular cheapness and merit. The Dictionary of Architecture is one of the most extraordinary in this respect.

been begun, and with immediate success. It is a weekly paper, for the same price; and although, being principally intended for the use of the workmen, it bestows peculiar attention on whatever concerns that order, yet the occurrences which it communicates, and the discussions which it contains, are also those most interesting to philosophers themselves. The day, indeed, seems now to break, when we may hope to see no marked line of separation between the two classes. I trust another distinction will also soon be known no more. The circulation of cheap works of a merely amusing kind, as well as of those connected with the arts, is at present very great in England; those of an aspect somewhat more forbidding, though at once moral, interesting, and most useful, is very limited; while in Scotland there is a considerable demand for them. Habits of reading longer formed in that country, have taught the inhabitants, that nothing in reality can be more attractive than the profound wisdom of every day's application, sustained by unbounded learning, and embellished with the most brilliant fancy, which so richly furnishes every page of the Essays of Bacon.

It is undoubtedly from the circumstance just mentioned, that in looking over the list of those cheap publications, which are unconnected with the arts, we certainly do not find many that are of a very instructive cast; and here it is that something may be done by way of encouragement. That the demand for books, cheap as well as dear, must tend to produce them, no one denies; but then it is equally certain, that the publication of cheap books increases the number of readers among the poor; and one can hardly conceive a greater benefit than those would confer, who should make a judicious selection from our best authors upon ethics, politics and history, and promote cheap editions of them in Numbers, without waiting until the demand was such as to make the sale a matter of perfect certainty. Lord John Russell, in his excellent and instructive speech upon Parliamentary Reform, delivered in 1822, stated, that 'an establishment was commenced 'a few years ago, by a number of individuals, with a capital of 'not less than a million, for the purpose of printing standard 'works at a cheap rate;' and he added, that it had been 'very 'much checked in its operation by one of those Acts for the sup-'pression of knowledge which were passed in the year 1819, 'although one of its rules was not to allow the venders of its 'works to sell any book on the political controversies of the 'day.' The only part of this plan which appears at all objectionable, is the restriction upon politics. Why should not political, as well as all other works, be published in a cheap form, and in Numbers? That history, the nature of the constitution, the doctrines of political economy, may safely be disseminated in this shape, no man now-a-days will be hardy enough to deny. Popular tracts, indeed, on the latter subject, ought to be much more extensively circulated for the good of the working classes,

as well as of their superiors. The interests of both are deeply concerned in sounder views being taught them; I can hardly imagine, for example, a greater service being rendered to the men, than expounding to them the true principles and mutual relations of population and wages; and both they and their masters will assuredly experience the effects of the prevailing ignorance upon such questions, as soon as any interruption shall happen in the commercial prosperity of the country, if indeed the present course of things, daily tending to lower wages as well as profits, and set the two classes in opposition to each other, shall not of itself bring on a crisis. To allow, or rather to induce the people to take part in those discussions, is therefore not merely safe, but most wholesome for the community, and yet some points connected with them are matter of pretty warm contention in the present times; but these may be freely handled, it seems, with safety; indeed, unless they are so handled, such subjects cannot be discussed at all. Why then may not every topic of politics, party as well as general, be treated of in cheap publications? It is highly useful to the community that the true principles of the constitution, ecclesiastical and civil, should be well understood by every man who lives under it. The great interests of civil and religious liberty are mightily promoted by such wholesome instruction; but the good order of society gains to the full as much by it. The peace of the country, and the stability of the government, could not be more effectually secured than by the universal diffusion of this kind of knowledge. The abuses which through time have crept into the practice of the constitution, the errors committed in its administration, and the improvements which a change of circumstances require even in its principles, may most fitly be expounded in the same manner. And if any man or set of men deny the existence of such abuses, see no error in the conduct of those who administer the government, and regard all innovation upon its principles as pernicious, they may propagate their doctrines through the like channels. Cheap works being furnished, the choice of them may be left to the readers. Assuredly, a country which tolerates every kind, even the most unmeasured, of daily and weekly discussion in the newspapers, can have nothing to dread from the diffusion of political doctrines in a form less desultory, and more likely to make them be both well weighed at the time, and preserved for repeated perusal. It cannot be denied, that the habit of cursory reading, engendered by finding all subjects discussed in publications, which, how great soever their merits may be, no one looks at a second time, is unfavourable to the acquisition of solid and permanent information*.

* I am glad to find this task in part most ably executed by my worthy friend Mr. Marshall, of Leeds. He has published a small elementary treatise on the principles of Œconomics for the use of the working classes. It is most ably executed.

Although the publication of cheap works is the most effectual method of bringing knowledge within the reach of a poor man's income, there are other modes deserving our attention, whereby a similar assistance may be rendered, and his resources economized. Circulating libraries may in some circumstances be of use; but, generally speaking, they are little suited to those who have only an hour or two every day, or every other day, to bestow upon reading. *Book Clubs*, or *Reading Societies*, are far more suited to the labouring classes, may be established by very small numbers of contributors, and require an inconsiderable fund. If the associates live near one another, arrangements may be easily made for circulating the books, so that they may be in use every moment that any one can spare from his work. Here, too, the rich have an opportunity presented to them of promoting instruction without constant interference; the gift of a few books, as a beginning, will generally prove a sufficient encouragement to carry on the plan by weekly or monthly contributions; and with the gift a scheme may be communicated, to assist the contributors in arranging the plan of their association. I would here remark the great effect of combination upon such plans, in making the money of individuals go far. Three-halfpence a week laid by in a whole family, will enable it to purchase in a year one of the cheap volumes of which I have spoken above, and a penny a week would be sufficient, were the publications made as cheap as possible. Now, let only a few neighbours join, say ten or twelve, and lend each other the books bought; and it is evident, that for a price so small as to be within the reach of the poorest labourer, all may have full as many books in the course of the year as it is possible for them to read, even supposing that the books bought by every one are not such as all the others desire to have*. The publication of books in Numbers greatly helps this plan; for it enables those who choose to begin it at any time, without waiting until they have laid by enough to purchase a volume in each family; and where books not so published are wanted, booksellers would do well to aid such associations by giving them a year's credit; whatever propagates a taste for reading must secure their interest in the end. In many parts of Scotland, *Parish Libraries* have been formed with a view to the same object. They originated, I believe, in general with the wealthier classes and the farmers; but after laying the foundation

* It is found that the average number of volumes read by the members of a Mechanics Institution, in a great town, is between 10 and 11 a year; by the members of a book society, in the villages of an agricultural district, between 5 and 6. Now the cheap books contain between two and three times the matter in the ordinary publications; therefore, it is evident, that such an association as that proposed, would have three times as much reading as is wanted in towns, and five or six times as much as in the country.

by collecting a few books, those persons left the management most wisely to the readers themselves, and required them to pay for the support of the fund and purchase of new books. *Cottage Libraries* upon a somewhat similar plan are beginning to be formed in some parts of England. There is one at Taunton, where the contributors pay only a penny a week, and above a thousand issues of books have been made to 80 persons in the course of a year. The only officers are a treasurer and librarian, who attend every Saturday evening, to exchange the books and receive subscriptions. They also select the books; a faulty arrangement in my opinion, unless the officers are themselves chosen by the readers. The obvious and the sound plan is to establish some general regulation respecting the kind of books to be purchased, (which must, in some degree, depend on the circumstances of each association,) and then to let each contributor choose in proportion to what he pays, or to let several join in choosing a book equal in price to their united contributions. If the rich patrons of the scheme wish to interfere with the choice, it should be either by giving books, or choosing in proportion to their pecuniary contribution. But I confess I should be better pleased to see such libraries, after they are once established, left wholly to the support of the readers, who are sure to care for them if they pay for them, long after richer patrons would tire of the details*.

An excellent plan was about ten years ago adopted by Mr. S. Brown, of Haddington, for instructing the towns and villages of the county of East-Lothian, in succession, by means of the same books. It began with only a few volumes; but he now has 19 *Itinerant Libraries* of 50 volumes each, which are sent round the different stations, remaining a certain time at each. For these there are 19 divisions, and 15 stations, 4 divisions being always in use at the chief town, and 2 at another town of some note. An individual at each station acts as librarian. There are 700 or 800 readers, and the expenses, under 60*l.* a year, are defrayed by the produce of a sermon, the sale of some tracts, and subscriptions, in small sums averaging 5*s.* This plan is now adopted in Berwickshire, by Mr. Buchan, of Kelloe, with this very great improvement, that the current expenses are defrayed by the readers, who pay twopence a month, and I hope choose the books. These libraries have given rise to a scientific Institution, as we shall presently see; and it is peculiarly gratifying to observe that the ori-

* Since this Pamphlet was first published I am extremely gratified to find that my suggestions have been acted upon at Haverfordwest, where an *Agricultural Book Society* has been formed, under the patronage of Captain Ackland, Mr. Harvey, my friend the Honourable E. Edwardes, M.P., Colonel Scourfield, M.P., and others. The principle which I have ventured to recommend, of allowing each subscriber to name books to the amount of his subscription, has been adopted.

ginal scheme from which the whole has followed, was merely a library for *religious tracts*, established ever since 1810; and into which were afterwards introduced, in perfect consistency with the primary object, some literary and scientific works.

It is, however, not only necessary that the money of the working classes, but their time also, should be economized; and this consideration leads to various suggestions.

In the *first* place, there are many occupations in which a number of persons work in the same room; and unless there be something noisy in the work, one may always read while the others are employed. If there are twenty-four men together, this arrangement would only require each man to work one extra day in four weeks, supposing the reading to go on the whole day, which it would not; but a boy or a girl might be engaged to perform the task, at an expense so trifling as not to be felt. This expedient, too, it may be observed, would save money as well as time; one copy of a book, and that borrowed for the purpose, or obtained from a reading society or circulating library, would suffice for a number of persons. I may add, that great help would be given by the better informed and more apt learners, to such as are slower of apprehension and more ignorant; and discussion (under proper regulations) would be of singular use to all, even the most forward proficients; which leads me to observe,

Secondly, That societies for the express purpose of promoting conversation are a most useful adjunct to any private or other education received by the working classes. Those who do not work together in numbers, or whose occupation is of a noisy kind, may thus, one or two evenings in the week, meet and obtain all the advantages of mutual instruction and discussion. An association of this kind will naturally combine with its plan the advantages of a book club. The members will most probably be such as are engaged in similar pursuits, and whose train of reading and thinking may be nearly the same. The only considerable evils which they will have to avoid, are, being too numerous, and falling too much into debate. From twenty to thirty seems a convenient number; and nearer the former than the latter. The tone ought to be given from the beginning, in ridicule of speech-making, both as to length and wordiness. A subject of discussion may be given out at one meeting for the next; or the chairman may read a portion of some work, allowing each member to stop him at any moment, for the purpose of controverting, supporting, or illustrating by his remarks the passage just read. To societies of this kind master workmen have the power of affording great facilities. They may allow an hour on the days when the meetings are holden; or if that is too much, they may allow the men to begin an hour earlier on those days; or if even that cannot be managed, they may

let them have an hour and a half, on condition of working half an hour extra on three other days. But a more essential help will be the giving them a place to meet. There are hardly twenty or thirty workmen in any branch of business, some of whose masters have not a room, workshop, warehouse, or other place sufficient to accommodate such a society: and it is quite necessary that the place of rendezvous should on no account be the alehouse. Whoever lent his premises for this purpose, might satisfy himself that no improper persons should be admitted, by taking the names of the whole club from two or three steady men, who could be answerable for the demeanour of the rest. Any interference beyond this would be unwise: unless in so far as the men might voluntarily consult their masters from time to time; and their disposition to do so must depend wholly upon the relations of kindness and mutual confidence subsisting between the parties. If any difficulty should be found in obtaining the use of a room from their masters, there seems to be no good reason why they should not have the use of any school-room that may be in their neighbourhood; and one room of this kind may accommodate several societies; three, if the meetings are twice a week; and six, if they only meet once. I shall presently illustrate this matter further when I come to speak of the Glasgow Institution.

In the *third* place, it is evident that as want of time prevents the operative classes from pursuing a systematic course of education in all its details, a more summary and compendious method of instruction must be adopted by them. The majority must be content with never going beyond a certain point, and with reaching that point by the most expeditious route. A few, thus initiated in the truths of science, will no doubt push their attainments much further; and for these the works in common use will suffice; but for the multitude it will be most essential that works should be prepared adapted to their circumstances. Thus, in teaching them geometry, it is not necessary to go through the whole steps of that beautiful system, by which the most general and remote truths are connected with the few simple definitions and axioms; enough will be accomplished, if they are made to perceive the nature of geometrical investigation, and learn the leading properties of figure. In like manner, they may be taught the doctrines of mechanics with a much more slender previous knowledge both of geometry and algebra, than the common elementary works on dynamicks pre-suppose in the reader. Hence, a most essential service will be rendered to the cause of knowledge by him who shall devote his time to the composition of elementary treatises on the Mathematics, sufficiently clear, and yet sufficiently compendious, to exemplify the method of reasoning employed in that science, and to impart an accurate knowledge of the most useful fundamental propositions, with

their application to practical purposes; and treatises upon Natural Philosophy, which may teach the great principles of physics, and their practical application, to readers who have but a general knowledge of mathematics, or who are even wholly ignorant of the science beyond the common rules of arithmetic. Nor let it be supposed, that the time thus bestowed is given merely to instruct the people in the rudiments of philosophy, though this would of itself be an object sufficiently brilliant to allure the noblest ambition; for what higher achievement did the most sublime philosophy ever aspire after, than to elevate the views and refine the character of the great mass of mankind—at least in later times, when science no longer looks down as of old upon the multitude, supercilious, and deeming that great spirits alone perish not with the body? But if extending the bounds of science itself be the grand aim of all philosophers in all ages, they indirectly, but surely, accomplish this object, who enable thousands to speculate and experiment for one to whom the path of investigation is now open. It is not necessary that all who are taught, or even any large proportion, should go beyond the rudiments; but whoever feels within himself a desire and an aptitude to proceed further, will press forward; and the chances of discovery, both in the arts and in science itself, will be thus indefinitely multiplied. Indeed, those discoveries immediately connected with experiment and observation, are most likely to be made by men, whose lives being spent in the midst of mechanical operations, are at the same time instructed in the general principles upon which these depend, and trained betimes to habits of speculation. He who shall prepare a treatise simply and concisely unfolding the doctrines of Algebra, Geometry, and Mechanics, and adding examples calculated to strike the imagination, of their connexion with other branches of knowledge, and with the arts of common life, may fairly claim a large share in that rich harvest of discovery and invention which must be reaped by the thousands of ingenious and active men, thus enabled to bend their faculties towards objects at once useful and sublime.

Although much may be done by the exertions of individuals, it is manifest that a great deal more may be effected by the labours of a body, in furthering this important measure. The subject has for some time past been under consideration, and I am not without hopes of seeing formed a Society for promoting the composition, publication, and distribution of cheap and useful works. To qualify persons for becoming efficient members of this association, or co-operating with it all over the country, neither splendid talents, nor profound learning, nor great wealth are required. Though such gifts, in their amplest measure, would not be thrown away upon so important a design, they are by no means indispensable to its success. A well-informed man of good sense, filled with the resolution to obtain for the great body

of his fellow-creatures, that high improvement which both their understandings and their morals are by nature fitted to receive, may labour in this good work, either in the central institution or in some remote district, with the certainty of success, if he have only that blessing of leisure for the sake of which riches are chiefly to be coveted. Such a one, however averse by taste or habit to the turmoil of public affairs, or the more ordinary strifes of the world, may in all quiet and innocence enjoy the noblest gratification of which the most aspiring nature is susceptible; he may influence by his single exertions the character and the fortunes of a whole generation, and thus wield a power to be envied even by vulgar ambition for the extent of its dominion—to be cherished by virtue itself for the unalloyed blessings it bestows.

Fourthly, The preparation of elementary works is not the only, nor, at first, is it the most valuable service that can be rendered towards economizing the time of the labouring classes. The institution of Lectures is, of all the helps that can be given, the most valuable, where circumstances permit; that is, in towns of a certain size. Much may thus be taught, even without any other instruction; but, combined with reading, and subservient to it, the effects of public lectures are great indeed, especially in the present deficiency of proper elementary works. The students are enabled to read with advantage; things are explained to them which no books sufficiently illustrate; access is afforded to teachers, who can remove the difficulties which occur perpetually in the reading of uneducated persons; a word may often suffice to get rid of some obstacle which would have impeded the unassisted student's progress for days; and then, whatever requires the performance of experiments to become intelligible, can only be learnt by the bulk of mankind at a lecture, inasmuch as the wealthy alone can have such lessons in private, and none but men highly gifted can hope to master those branches of science without seeing the experimental illustrations.

The branches of knowledge to which these observations chiefly apply, are Mechanical Philosophy and Chemistry, both as being more intimately connected with the arts, and as requiring more explanation and illustration by experiment. But the Mathematics, Astronomy, and Geology, the two former especially, are well fitted for being taught publicly, and are of great practical use. Nor is there any reason why Moral and Political Philosophy should not be explained in public lectures, though they may be learnt by reading far more easily than the physical sciences.

In all plans of this description, it is absolutely necessary that the expenses should mainly be defrayed by those for whose benefit they are contrived. It is the province of the rich to lay the foundation, by making certain advances which are required in the first instance, and enabling the poor to come forward, both

as learners and contributors. But no such scheme can either take a deep root, or spread over the country so as to produce its full measure of good, unless its support is derived from those who are chiefly to reap the benefits. Those benefits are well worth paying for; they are not only of great value in the improvement and gratification which they afford to the mind, but in the direct addition which they make to the pecuniary resources of the labouring classes. Instruction in the principles upon which the arts depend, will repay in actual profit to those who live by the arts, far more than the cost of learning. An artisan, a dyer, an engine-maker, will gain the more in money or money's worth for being an expert chemist or mechanician; and a farm-servant, or bailiff, for knowing the economy and diseases of cattle. I have before me the extract of a letter from one of the greatest engine-makers in the country, stating, that a young man in humble life had been selected from among many applicants, to fill a considerable place in the manufactory, on account of his proficiency in science. The profit directly accruing from the knowledge of those sciences provides an immediate fund, out of which the cost of acquiring it may be easily defrayed; but a fund is as certainly though somewhat more remotely secured for repaying, with large interest, the expense of acquiring knowledge of a more general description—those branches of learning which improve the morals, expand the understanding, and refine the taste. That invaluable fund is composed of the savings made by substituting pure and harmless and cheap gratifications, in the stead of luxuries which are both grosser and more costly—hurtful to the health, and wasteful of time.

The yearly cost of a lecture in the larger cities, where enlightened and public-spirited men may be found willing to give instruction for nothing, is indeed considerably less than in smaller places, where a compensation must be made for the lecturer's time and work. But it seems advisable, that, even where gratuitous assistance could be obtained, something like an adequate remuneration should be afforded, both to preserve the principle of independence among the working classes, and to secure the more accurate and regular discharge of the duty. We shall therefore suppose, that the lectures, as well as the current expenses of the room, and where there are experiments, of the apparatus, are to be paid for; and still it appears by no means an undertaking beyond the reach of those classes. The most expensive courses of teaching will be those requiring apparatus; but those are likewise the most directly profitable to the scholars. Contributions may be reckoned upon to begin the plan, including the original purchase of apparatus; and then we may estimate the yearly cost, which alone will fall upon the members of the Association. The hire of a room may be reckoned at 30*l.*; the salary of a lecturer, 40*l.*; wear and tear of apparatus,

20*l.*; assistant and servant, 10*l.*; clerk or collector, 10*l.*; fire and lamps, 5*l.*; printing and advertising, 15*l.*; making in all 130*l.* But if two, or three courses are delivered in the same room, the expenses of each will be reduced in proportion. Suppose three; the room may probably be had for 50*l.*, the printing for 20*l.*, and the servants for 30*l.*; so that the expense of each course will be reduced to about 100*l.* Each course may occupy six months of weekly lectures; consequently, if only a hundred artisans are to be found who can spare a shilling a week, one lecture may be carried on for 130*l.*; and if 120 artisans can be found to spare a shilling a week, three courses may be carried on during the year, and each person attend the whole. This calculation, however, supposes a very inconsiderable town. If the families engaged in trade and handicrafts have, one with another, a single person contributing, the number of 100 answers to a population of only 770, supposing the proportion of persons engaged in trade and handicrafts to be the same as in the West Riding of Yorkshire; and 710, taking the proportion of Lancashire. If, indeed, we take the proportions in the manufacturing towns, it will answer in some cases to a population of 5500, and in others of little more than 500. But even taking the proportion from towns in the least manufacturing counties, as Huntingdonshire, the population required to furnish 100 will not exceed 900—which supposes a town of about 200 houses. One of three times the size is but an inconsiderable place; and yet in such a place, upon a very moderate computation, 200 persons might easily be found to spare sixpence a week all the year round; which would be amply sufficient for two lectures. In the larger towns, where 500 or 600 persons might associate, five shillings a quarter would be sufficient to carry on three or four lectures, and leave between 150*l.* and 200*l.* a year for the purchase of books.

In estimating the expenses I have supposed a room to be hired and the rent to be moderate. To make a beginning, the parties must make a shift with any public room or other place that may be vacant; the great point is to begin: the numbers are certain to increase, and the income with the numbers, as the plan becomes known and its manifold attractions operate upon the people. For the same reason I reckon a small sum for apparatus. Great progress may be made in teaching with very cheap and simple experiments. Indeed some of the most important, if not the most showy, are the least costly and complicated. By far the grandest discoveries in natural science were made with hardly any apparatus. A pan of water and two thermometers were the tools that in the skilful hands of Black detected latent heat; a crown's worth of glass, threepenny-worth of salt, a little chalk, and a pair of scales, enabled the same great philosopher to found the system of modern chemistry, by tracing

the existence and the combinations of fixed air; with little more machinery the genius of Scheele* created the materials of which the fabric was built, and anticipated some of the discoveries that have illustrated a later age; a prism, a lens, and a sheet of pasteboard enabled Newton to unfold the composition of light, and the origin of colours; Franklin† ascertained the nature of lightning with a kite, a wire, a bit of riband, and a key:—to say nothing of the great chemist of our own day, of whose most useful, perhaps most philosophical discovery, the principle might have been traced with the help of a common wire fire-guard. Even the elements of mechanics may be explained with apparatus almost as cheap and simple.—To take one instance; the fundamental property of the lever (and I may say of the whole science) may be demonstrated by a foot rule, a knife, and a few leaden balls of equal size. The other mechanical powers (which are indeed for the most part resolvable into the lever) may be explained with almost equal ease; and after all, it is those principles that practical men most require to have unfolded, and their application to mechanism illustrated, by figures and instruments. Machinery, even in its complicated form, is more easily understood by them, because they are in practice familiar with its operations and terms, and will follow the description of an engine and its working without a model, or at most with a drawing, far more readily than the learners of natural science in other conditions of life. The simplification of apparatus for teaching physical science is an important object, and one to which learned men may most usefully direct their attention. There cannot be a doubt, that a compendious set of machines may be constructed to illustrate at a very cheap price a whole course of lectures. Certain parts may be prepared capable of being formed into various combinations, so as to present different engines; and where separate models are necessary, their construction may be greatly simplified by omitting parts which are not essential to explain the principle, and show the manner of working. The price, too, will be greatly reduced when a larger number being required of each, they may be prepared by wholesale. A friend of mine is at present occupied in devising the best means of simplifying apparatus for lectures upon the mechanical powers; and cheap chemical laboratories may then receive his consideration. It is likewise in contemplation at a great manufacturing establishment, where every part of the machinery is made upon the spot, to prepare a number of sets of cheap apparatus for teaching, so that any Mechanics Institution may on very moderate terms be furnished at least with what is necessary for carrying on a course of dynamics. The drawings may be multiplied by the polygraphic methods generally in use.

The difficulty of obtaining a fit lecturer is one likely for some

* A working chemist. † A working printer.

time to be much felt, especially in small towns. One method of removing it is by sending an experienced teacher from place to place; and the man qualified for the task, who should fastidiously reject so useful and so honourable an occupation, might be a man of science, but would little deserve to be called a philosopher. No talents and no acquirements are too great to be thus applied; and no use to which parts and learning can be put is more dignified. But another supply of instructors will soon be ready. Each Institution now established must in a short time form teachers. Among a great number of students, some must be found to make such progress as will qualify them for the office. In the Edinburgh School of Arts a joiner has for some time past been teaching mathematics, which he learnt there. At Glasgow, a person of the same trade, who had been taught at the school established by Dr. Birkbeck, has lectured on geography, chemistry, and mechanics. These instances prove that the men will be able to teach; it is equally clear that the wages of a lecturer will make them turn their attention to this business in places where one is wanted.

After all, it may often happen that a lecture cannot be undertaken on however moderate a plan; in that case it will be advisable to begin with a library, to which a lecture may afterwards be added.—This was the course pursued at Kendal, where a "*Mechanics and Apprentices Library*" was begun last spring, and in autumn a course of lectures was delivered upon the Philosophy of Natural History. At Carlisle, and I believe at Hawick, the same method has been adopted.

I have remarked, that in forming these Institutions, it is a fundamental principle to make the expenses be mainly defrayed by the mechanics themselves; it is another principle, in my opinion equally essential, that they should have the principal share in the management. This seems necessary for securing both the success and the independence of the system. Nor is there the least reason to apprehend mismanagement. If benefit societies are, upon the whole, well managed, we may rely upon institutions being still better conducted, where the improvement of the mind being the object, those only will ever take an active part, who are desirous of their own advancement in knowledge, and of the general instruction of the class to which they belong. Indeed there seems no better means of securing the continued attention of the Directors, than placing the direction in the hands of those who are alone interested in the prosperity of the concern. Neither is there any fear that the suggestions of persons in a higher station, and of more ample information, may not be duly attended to. Gratitude for the assistance received, and the advice offered, together with a conviction that the only motive for interfering is the good of the establishment, will give at least their just weight

to the recommendations of patrons; and if it were not always so, far better would it be to see such influence fail entirely, than to run the risk of the apathy which might be occasioned among the men, and the abuse of the Institutions themselves, which might frequently be produced by excluding from the control of their affairs those whose interests are the only object in view. The opinions of patrons are always sure to have influence as long as their object plainly is to promote the good of those for whom the Institution was founded; and as soon as they are actuated by any other views, it is very fit that their influence should cease. There is nearly as little reason to apprehend, that the necessity of discussing, at meetings of the members, the affairs of the Institution, will give rise to a spirit of controversy and a habit of making speeches. Those meetings for private business will of course be held very seldom; and a feeling may always be expected to prevail, that the continuance of the establishment depends upon preserving union, notwithstanding any diversity of opinion in matters of detail, and upon keeping the discussion of rules and regulations subordinate to the attendance upon the lectures, the main object of the establishment. The time when information and advice is most wanted, with other assistance from the wealthy and the well informed, is at the beginning of the undertaking; and at that time the influence of those patrons will necessarily be the most powerful. Much depends upon a right course being taken at first; proper rules laid down; fit subjects selected for lecture; good teachers chosen; and upon all these matters the opinions and wishes of those who chiefly contribute to found the several institutions, must receive great attention. What I have now stated, is not merely that which seems likely to happen by reasoning from the circumstances; it has in fact happened in the instances where the trial has been made on the largest scale. We have never found any inconvenience from this plan during the twelve months that our Mechanics Institution in London has been established. In Glasgow, there is a much longer experience in its favour; with this addition, that a contrary plan having at one time been pursued there, the men ceased to interest themselves in the lecture; and the Institution declined. The extraordinary success of the new Institution, which now places it at the head of all such establishments, may chiefly be ascribed to its administration being in the hands of the men themselves*.

I have said that the *independence* of these undertakings, as well as their success, is to be considered. I really should be disposed

* It gives me the greatest pleasure to perceive that these principles have been universally adopted since the circulation of this tract. The rule has been laid down in all the institutions formed, that two-thirds of the committee shall be working men.

to view any advantage in point of knowledge gained by the body of the people, as somewhat equivocal, or at least as much alloyed with evil, if purchased by the increase of their dependence upon their superiors. They will always be abundantly thankful for the help afforded them in beginning such institutions, and quite ready to receive advice from those who render them assistance. But if the latter keep the management entirely in their own hands, they enforce the appeal to gratitude by something very like control; and they hurt the character of those whom they would serve. For this reason, as well as for promoting more effectually and generally the establishment of these institutions, it is of the last importance that the yearly expense should be reduced to such a sum as can be wholly raised by the students. What they receive in money from their superiors will then be given once for all at the outset; what they receive from time to time in good counsel, and in teaching, either by lectures or publications, shows much real kindness, confers a great benefit, and ensures a grateful return, without bringing into action any of those feelings alike painful and injurious, which arise from the assumption of authority grounded on the mere differences of rank and wealth.

It is now fit that we advert to the progress that has already been made in establishing this system of instruction. Its commencement was the work of Dr. Birkbeck, to whom the people of this island owe a debt of gratitude, the extent of which it would not be easy, perhaps in the present age not possible, to describe; for as, in most cases, the effective demand precedes the supply, it would have been more in the ordinary course of things, that a teacher should spring up at the call of the mechanics for instruction: but long before any symptoms appeared of such an appetite on their part, and with the avowed purpose of implanting the desire in them, or at least of unfolding and directing it, by presenting the means of gratification, that most learned and excellent person formed the design, as enlightened as it was benevolent, of admitting the working classes of his fellow-countrymen to the knowledge of sciences, till then almost deemed the exclusive property of the higher ranks in society, and only acquired accidentally and irregularly in a few rare instances of extraordinary natural talents, by any of the working classes. Dr. Birkbeck, before he settled in London, where he has since reached the highest station in the medical profession, resided for some time in Glasgow as Professor in the Anderson College; and about the year 1800, he announced a Course of Lectures on Natural Philosophy, and its application to the Arts, for the instruction of mechanics. But a few at the first availed themselves of this advantage; by degrees, however, the extraordinary perspicuity of the teacher's method, the judicious selection of his experiments, and the natural attractions of the

subject, to men whose lives were spent in directing or witnessing operations, of which the principles were now first unfolded to them, proved successful in diffusing a general taste for the study; and when he left Glasgow two or three years afterwards, about seven hundred eagerly and constantly attended the class.

For some time after Dr. Birkbeck's departure, the lectures of his able and worthy successor Dr. Ure were well frequented; and when the number of the students began to decline, probably from the circumstance of their having no direct share in the management of the Institution, the Professor happily thought of adding to it a library for the use of the mechanics, and entrusting the direction of it entirely to a committee chosen by themselves. This gave new life to the enterprise, and the Gas Light Company having in return for some services rendered them by the Professor, agreed to light the book-room two evenings in the week, a custom arose among the men who came to change their books, of remaining to converse upon the subjects of their reading, and an extraordinary impulse was thus given to their spirit of inquiry. The Library Committee, too, being chosen by the whole body, became in some sort its representative, and claimed to interfere in the management of the Institution. It soon happened that some of their suggestions were not attended to; and a difference, at first to be regretted, led to consequences highly beneficial; for a great number seceded from the lectures and formed an Institution entirely under the management of the mechanics themselves. It has been successful beyond all expectation; a thousand working men attended it last winter, while the numbers of the parent establishment were scarcely diminished. Out of these public associations has arisen one upon a more confined but most useful plan, applicable to every large manufactory. The Gas Light Company's men, between 60 and 70 in number, have formed themselves, on the suggestion of Mr. Nelson the foreman, into a club for mutual instruction; laying by a small sum monthly, they have collected about 300 volumes, and the Company giving them a library room, which they light and heat, the men meet every evening, to converse upon literary and scientific subjects, and once a week to lecture; any one who chooses, giving a fortnight's notice that he will treat on some subject which he has been studying. The books are of all kinds, with the exception of theology, which from the various sects the men belong to is of necessity excluded.*

It is somewhat singular, that although there are many towns in Scotland, and some within a short distance of Glasgow, where hundreds of artisans are collected, yet twenty years elapsed

* I owe this interesting information to an admirable letter of Mr. D. Bannatyne to Dr. Birkbeck, in the Mechanics Register. Mr. B. as early as 1817 strongly recommended to the country the extension of Dr. B.'s plan, in a valuable paper which he contributed to Mr. M. Napier's Encyclopedia.

before the example was followed, and men profited by an experiment, which, for so long a period, was constantly before their eyes, and attended with such remarkable success. It was not till the year 1821 that Edinburgh adopted the plan with some variations, a part of which appear to be improvements.

The promoters of the measure began by drawing up a short sketch of the proposed institution, and causing it to be circulated among the principal master mechanics, with a request that they would read it in their workshops, and take down the names of such of the men as were desirous of being taught the principles of those sciences most useful to artisans. In the course of ten days, between 70 and 80 names were entered; and a private meeting was held of a few gentlemen who were disposed to encourage the experiment. These resolved to begin a subscription for the purpose. In April 1821 they circulated a prospectus among the mechanics, announcing the commencement of a Course of Lectures on Mechanics, and another on Chemistry, in October following,—with the opening of a Library of Books upon the same subjects, for perusal at home as well as in the room; the hours of lecture to be from eight to nine in the evening, twice a week, for six months; and the terms of admission to the whole, both lectures and library, fifteen shillings a year. A statement was then issued to the public at large, announcing the establishment of a "*School of Arts,*" with the particulars of the plan; and so well was it received, by all classes, that in September, notice was given of 220 mechanics having entered as students, and such a sum having been subscribed by the public, as enabled the Directors to open the establishment in October. When 400 had purchased tickets, the two courses of lectures were delivered by Dr. Forbes and Mr. Galbraith; to which one on architecture and one on farriery were added, with a class for architectural and mechanical drawing during the summer recess.

The Mechanical Lectures had hardly begun, when some of the students, finding the want of mathematical knowledge, proposed to form themselves into a class, under one of their own number, a joiner, who had agreed to teach them gratuitously the Elements of Geometry and the higher branches of Arithmetic. This suggestion was warmly approved of by the Directors, and some assistance in books being given, thirty met once a week for Geometry, and once for Arithmetic; and adopting the plan of mutual instruction, they arranged the class in five divisions, each under the best scholar as a Monitor, and going over in one night the lessons of the night before. The number of this class being limited to thirty, those who were excluded formed another on the same plan, under a cabinet-maker, also a student of the School of Arts. The joiner's name is James Yule; the cabinet-maker's, David Dewar; and their successful exertions to

teach their fellow-workmen are deserving of very great commendation. Mr. Galbraith, the Mechanical Professor, adopted the plan of setting exercises to his pupils; and a list has been published of those who chiefly distinguished themselves by the number and accuracy of their solutions, being 25 persons.

The average receipts of the two first years were, from subscriptions, 448*l.* yearly, and from the students 300*l.* The average expenditure was about 620*l.*, and a saving of 300*l.* was made towards building a lecture-room. The expenditure includes, for furniture and apparatus, 216*l.* a year; for books and binding, 110*l.*; and for expenses incident to the subscriptions, as advertisements, collection and meetings, about 70*l.*;—leaving, of current necessary expenses, about 220*l.* only: so that, if the extrinsic subscriptions were at an end, or were confined to the accumulation of a fund for building, the students could themselves carry on the establishment, and have a surplus of 80*l.* a year for the wear and tear, and increase, of the apparatus and the library; and if their contributions were increased to a pound yearly, which would probably make very little, if any, difference in the numbers of students, an additional 100*l.* would be afforded for the better payment of the Lecturers, or, if they continue satisfied, for the establishment of new lectures. This statement is important, as confirming the calculation formerly given, and showing, that, in places where the rich are less liberally inclined than in Edinburgh, the same invaluable establishments may easily be formed and perpetuated, by a judicious encouragement given at first to the mechanics, and without the necessity of relying upon continued assistance from those who first promoted and aided them.*

As nothing can be more useful to the community of that great and enlightened city than the formation of this establishment, so nothing can be more honourable to the inhabitants than the zeal and the harmony with which all ranks have united in conducting it, and all parties among the rich in giving it their support. To Mr. Leonard Horner, in particular, with whom the plan originated and who has principally had the superintendence of its execution, the most grateful acknowledgments are deservedly due; and I trust I may so far use the privilege of ancient friendship, as to express my conviction that there is no one exertion in which his greatly lamented brother would, had he been preserved to us, have borne a deeper interest, and no object which he would more willingly have seen connected with his name.

* It has been thought proper to vest the management of this institution wholly in the subscribers. Local considerations, of which I cannot pretend to be a judge, may have rendered this necessary, but it seems, according to the most obvious principles, inconsistent with the prosperity and permanence of the plan.

The complete success of Dr. Birkbeck's plan both at Glasgow originally, and afterwards in a place abounding far less with artisans, very naturally suggested the idea of giving its principles a more general diffusion by the only means which seem in this country calculated for universally recommending any scheme—its adoption in London. An Address was published by Messrs. Robertson and Hodgkin, in the Mechanics Magazine, October 1823; and the call was answered promptly by Dr. Birkbeck himself, and other friends of education, as well as by the master mechanics and workmen of the metropolis. A meeting was held in November; the Mechanics Institution was formed; a subscription opened; and a set of regulations adopted. Of these by far the most important and one which in common, I believe, with all my colleagues, I consider to be altogether essential, provides that the committee of management shall be chosen by the whole students, and consist of at least two-thirds working men. The plan was so speedily carried into execution, that in January Dr. Birkbeck, our president, most appropriately opened the Institution with an introductory address to many hundred workmen, crowding from great distances in the worst season and after the toils of the day were over, to slake that thirst of knowledge which forms the most glorious characteristic of the age; nor was the voluntary offer of a course of lectures upon Mechanics less appropriate on the part of Professor Millington, who with an honest pride declared to his audience, that he had originally belonged to the same class with themselves. In the course of the year, lectures were delivered by Mr. Phillips on Chemistry, Mr. Dotchin on Geometry, Dr. Birkbeck on Hydrostatics, Mr. Cooper on the application of Chemistry to the Arts, Mr. Newton on Astronomy, Mr. Tatum on Electricity, and Mr. Black on the French language, to great and increasing numbers of workmen. About a thousand now belong to the Institution, and pay 20*s.* a year. Temporary accommodation has hitherto been provided at the chapel in Monkwell-street, formerly Dr. Lindsey's; and if upon such a subject we might make any account of omens, surely a scheme for the improvement of mankind could not be commenced under happier auspices than in the place which so virtuous and enlightened a friend of his country had once filled with the spirit of genuine philanthropy and universal toleration. But extensive premises have been procured in Southampton Buildings, for the permanent seat of the Institution; and the foundation has been laid there of a spacious lecture-room, and other suitable apartments for the library and apparatus. The sum required for these buildings exceeds three thousand pounds; and it has been generously advanced by Dr. Birkbeck. Others have made presents of money, books, and apparatus; and I should mention with greater admiration the gift of a thousand pounds

from Sir Francis Burdett, but that those who know him and who mark his conduct, have so long since become accustomed to such acts of wise and splendid benevolence, that they cease to make us wonder. Let me further express my conviction, founded upon information, that the mechanics of this great city are resolved, as they are well able, to perpetuate and extend the system; nor have I a doubt that they will, even if unassisted, erect other Institutions in those parts of the town which are too remote to benefit by the parent establishment.

The proceedings in London gave a great and general impulse to the friends of education in the country, and the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne was the first to profit by it. An Institution for the instruction of mechanics by books, lectures, and scientific meetings, was established in March 1824, and the first meeting was held, under the auspices of Mr. Turner, who opened it with an excellent address on the 11th of May. The members are admitted by ballot; but any person paying 12*s.* a year is eligible; and the Committee of Management consists of the workmen as well as their masters. The library consists already of 600 or 700 volumes. Beside benefactors, there are 240 subscribing members, and the meetings for discussion are held monthly; at these, papers are read and conversations entertained upon any scientific or literary subject, with two exceptions only—*controversial* divinity and *party* politics. A fund is forming for the purchase of apparatus, and lectures will soon be commenced. Mr. Turner, indeed, several years before the establishment of the society, had lectured upon Natural Philosophy to the working classes. The Literary Society which has long flourished at Newcastle, supported by the rich, must have contributed greatly to the love of knowledge which is now diffusing its blessings among the other classes; and the excellent principle which it adopted of vesting no property or privileges in those who paid a sum by way of admission money, but extending an equal share in its management and advantages to yearly subscribers, has been strictly acted upon by the founders of the new institution.

It is remarkable that the next example in point of time should be furnished by so inconsiderable a town as Kendal, of not more than 8000 inhabitants; and this instance is the more instructive because it shows how the system may be carried into effect with most limited resources. In April 1824, it was resolved to form a "*Mechanics and Apprentices Library and Institute;*" of which any person paying to the amount of three guineas in money or books, or 4*s.* yearly, might become a member and be eligible as well as vote for the Committee of Management. There are 150 subscribing members, all of the working classes, beside 50 or 60 by payment for life. The library already amounts to 300 or 400 volumes; and I have a letter before me from the worthy

president, Mr. S. Marshall, stating that "the books are nearly all out at a time, such is the ardour for information." Original papers upon subjects of science and literature are read at the Quarterly Meetings; no topics being excluded from discussion except those of a polemical and party nature. A course of lectures was delivered upon the Philosophy of Natural History last autumn, and one on Mechanics will be given this spring; probably one on Chemistry also. "Great delight is stated to have been expressed by the students who attended the lectures." Except that perhaps the meetings are too few, and the yearly subscription lower than might easily be afforded, the plan of this Institution is one of the best I have yet seen; and those errors, the last especially, are on the safe side, and may easily be corrected as the want of funds for lectures and apparatus may require, and the pleasure and profit attending a scientific education shall be more and more felt.

The principles upon which this flourishing Institution was founded have since been acted upon at Carlisle; and the fundamental one, which on every account is the most steadily to be kept in view, has been wisely recognized by a formal resolution, "that such institutions are likely to be most stable and useful "when chiefly conducted by the mechanics themselves;" and by a rule that two-thirds of the committee, consisting of 21, shall be operative mechanics; the payment of five guineas, and a guinea a year for seven years makes a life member; the others pay 8*s*. a year, and are admitted by the committee by ballot, and their sons or apprentices have all the benefits of the Institution. Above 300 volumes have been collected since November; 155 members have joined the Institution; a course of lectures on Natural Science has been delivered by Mr. Nichol; and the workmen, who had attended it with increasing delight, presented him at the close with a silver box, of four guineas value, with twelve pounds inclosed. The secretary, Mr. Dunbar, has been applied to by some good men in Dumfries, for information upon the manner of establishing a similar institution in that town; and I have a confident expectation that the example will be followed by Whitehaven, if not by the smaller towns. In truth, no place is too small for a mechanics library; and wherever the size will permit, such a beginning is sure to end in a lecture, or at least in some course of private instruction useful to the workmen. The town of Hawick has not above 4000 inhabitants; yet a mechanics society and library has been established there for some time; and Mr. Wilson, from Edinburgh, went thither in the autumn, and delivered a course of lectures on Natural Philosophy to 200 artisans. Out of the Haddington itinerant libraries there grew a School of Arts in 1821, established by some tradesmen who several years before had formed a society for scientific discussion;

and lectures on mechanics, chemistry and the mathematics, have since been successfully delivered to the workmen by Dr. Lorimer, and Messrs Gunn and Cunningham. In like manner, the example of Newcastle has been followed at Alnwick, a town of only 5000 inhabitants, where a library and a society have been founded by the exertion chiefly of Mr. Johnstone; and I have good reason to believe that the same design is in progress both at Morpeth and Hexham.

The great and wealthy and industrious town of Manchester might well be expected to be among the earliest and most zealous in establishing an Institution. This was resolved upon in April, and ample preparations appear to have been made for carrying the plan into execution—798*l.* had been received before the end of July; of that sum 243*l.* were annual donations; and 191 mechanics had entered their names as subscribers, at one pound a year. A library is forming, and preparations making, I believe, for delivering a course of lectures. The management of the Institution, however, is entrusted to Directors chosen by and among the honorary members only, and these are persons who either pay ten guineas at entrance, or a guinea a year, beside the subscription of 20*s.* It becomes me to speak with great diffidence upon the soundness of views which may have been suggested by local considerations unknown to distant observers; but I cannot avoid expressing my earnest wish that this part of the plan may be reconsidered by the excellent and enlightened men who have promoted so good a work. Perhaps the fact of nearly as many mechanics coming forward to join the societies formed in places like Carlisle and Kendal, upon the opposite principle, as at Manchester, where the population is at least tenfold, and the pursuits far more congenial, and where I know that 1200 of the Mechanics Magazine were sold the first day it appeared, may give some weight to my anxious but most respectful suggestion.

The Mechanics Institution of Leeds has been lately formed, principally through the exertions of Messrs. Gott and Marshall. Any person recommended by two members is admitted upon paying two pounds, and 10*s.* yearly; and any person for 5*s.* half-yearly is entitled to all its privileges, except that of taking part in the management. Two pounds seems too high for the admission of the workmen as generally as is desirable: a considerable number of them are no doubt members; and as such both vote and are eligible as directors, but the great majority of voters belong to the higher class. A slight change would remove this difficulty. There are 146 members and 136 subscribers already; books of the value of 500*l.* are purchased; and every thing is prepared for beginning a lecture, offers of gratuitous assistance having been received. The Institution is a very promising one, and the

number of ingenious and public-spirited men in that neighbourhood ensures its success, provided no impediment be thrown in the way of a cordial co-operation on the part of the men. The most exemplary spirit of union among men of very different parties in religion and politics has been exhibited; and the liberality of the masters is sure to be duly appreciated by those in their service.

The Institutions which I have hitherto mentioned are formed avowedly for lectures as well as reading, and most of them have already been able to establish lectures. Some are by their plan confined to reading, and have not hitherto contemplated any further instruction; but they may easily make the step. That of Liverpool deserves the first notice, as being earliest in point of time.

The Mechanics and Apprentices Library at Liverpool, established in July 1823, chiefly through the exertions of Mr. E. Smith, comes ultimately, if I mistake not, from a very illustrious stock; for it was formed upon the model of the plans which owe their origin to the Library Company of Philadelphia, founded by Franklin in 1731, and incorporated in 1742*. In six months 800 volumes were collected, and 400 readers subscribed; the library is now considerably increased, and there are above 600 readers. The sum paid is two guineas in money or books, for life, or 10*s.* 6*d.* a year; and every person paying either way has the privilege of recommending readers, who receive books on the guarantee of any member. The committee of direction is chosen by the whole members, and all are eligible. The method of keeping the different books of receipt, loan, register, guarantee, and catalogue, is admirably contrived for the quick and accurate dispatch of business; and is found so successful in practice, that 700 or 800 books are easily exchanged weekly in a very short time; 250 or 300 volumes being received from and as many given out to 200 readers in little more than an hour without any confusion. Where there is so much to commend, I am unwilling to hint at any imperfection; but certainly a course of lectures might without difficulty be added to this prosperous establishment; and although any mechanic may for half a guinea enjoy all the privileges of a member as the society is now constituted, it is plain

* Although the remote origin of these institutions may be traced to Franklin, Mr. W. Wood has the high merit of establishing them on their present plan and adapting them peculiarly to the instruction of mechanics and apprentices. He founded the first at Boston in 1820; he has had the satisfaction of seeing the plan adopted in New York, Philadelphia, Albany, and other towns; and I have now before me a letter in which he says that he has succeeded in forming one at New Orleans, where he was called on business. His plan is to obtain loans or gifts of books which almost every one has beyond his own wants; and he reckons 30,000 volumes thus obtained in different towns, and as many readers.

that the bulk of the members do not belong to this class, although on the guarantee and recommendation of members, by permission of the committee they partake of its benefits. If all were admitted to the library and management on somewhat lower terms, or to the library and lectures upon those terms a little raised, and none allowed to partake of either for nothing, there can be no doubt that a greater interest would be excited among them, and the Institution be more firmly established and more certain of extending its numbers.

A Mechanics and Apprentices Library was instituted at Sheffield in December 1823, and opened in the February following, under the able and zealous superintendence of Mr. Montgomery, a name well known in the literary world, and held in deserved honour by philanthropists. The rules appear to me most excellent. In the workmen is vested the property, in shares of 5*s.* each paid at first, and they afterwards pay 6*s.* a year; they form the class of *proprietors;* the others, the *honorary* members, present gifts in money and books, and may, if chosen by the body at large, fill the offices, but have no share in the property. The committee may consist entirely of proprietors; and must have two-thirds from that body. Apprentices have the use of the books for 4*s.* yearly. The librarian is to attend daily and have the care of the property; he is therefore paid: perhaps this might be rendered unnecessary by adopting some of the judicious regulations established at Liverpool, and exchanging the books once a week. Every donor of a book must write his name in it, as a kind of check; and a rule has been made, as I understand, after a very thorough and somewhat earnest discussion, giving an appeal against the admission of books to the ministers of the different denominations who are subscribers; this rule has however never yet been acted upon. Members lose the benefits of the society if in the workhouse or in prison; but are restored when liberated without payment of their arrears. Of this admirable institution there are now 360 members; of whom 310 are proprietors, and the numbers of these increase daily. There are 1400 volumes, including some most liberal donations; all collected in nine months; and 30 apprentices receive the benefits of the society on the terms already stated. A library and philosophical society has long flourished at Sheffield, and now reckons 350 members, almost all manufacturers and tradesmen. Lectures are occasionally given in it, and I rejoice to hear that there is an arrangement in agitation for admitting the workmen to the benefit of these as soon as the new premises are ready. A letter now before me relates an interesting anecdote for the encouragement of this design. "We have "in our employment a common cutler who found leisure in a "bad time of trade to amuse himself with entomology, and who

"has made great progress in arranging a collection of insects "for our museum. Another youth in an obscure station is pre- "paring specimens of our Flora for the same. Ingenious me- "chanical models have been repeatedly brought before us by "persons from whom little beyond ordinary handicraft could "have been expected." The first two circumstances here mentioned strongly confirm the opinion which I have expressed elsewhere*, and which was grounded on actual observation of Mr. Fellenberg's establishment in Switzerland, that a high degree of intellectual refinement and a taste for the pleasures of speculation, without any view to a particular employment, may be united with a life of hard labour, even in its most humble branches, and may both prove its solace and its guide.

There are other Mechanics Institutions respecting which I have not the details, as the very thriving one at Aberdeen, which has a library of 500 volumes, a valuable apparatus, and a lecture-room for 600 students, where extensive courses on chemical and mechanical science have been delivered. At Norwich a meeting was lately held, and attended by the most respectable inhabitants of all sects and parties, in order to found a Mechanics Institution. The zeal and information displayed there, leave no doubt whatever of the plan succeeding. Dr. Yelloly stated that the rules of the London Institution had been communicated by Dr. Birkbeck. The correspondence of our London Institution with different parts of the country shows that similar plans are in contemplation in various other districts of England. It should seem that a little exertion alone is wanting to introduce the system universally; and this is the moment beyond all doubt, best fitted for the attempt, when wages are good, and the aspect of things peaceful. But if in any part of the kingdom more than another the education of the working classes is of importance, that part surely is Ireland. I have learned, then, with inexpressible satisfaction, that there the system has already been introduced. In Dublin a Mechanics Institution has been established with the soundest views, the great and cardinal principle being recognised of taking two-thirds of the Directors from the body of the workmen. A similar plan has been adopted at Cork; and I have reason to hope that Limerick and Belfast will follow so excellent an example.

To encourage good men in these exertions—to rouse the indifferent and cheer the desponding by setting plain facts before them—has been the object of these details. The subject is of such inestimable importance that no apology is required for anxiously addressing in favour of it all men of enlightened views, who value the real improvement of their fellow-creatures, and the best interests of

* Evidence before the Education Committee, 1818.

their country. We are bound upon this weighty matter to be instant, in season and out of season. I now speak not merely of seminaries for teaching mechanics the principles of natural and mathematical sciences, but of schools where the working classes generally may learn those branches of knowledge which they cannot master by private reading. It must be a small town indeed, where some useful lecture may not, with a little exertion and a little encouragement, be so established that the quarterly contributions of the students may afterwards suffice to continue it. Moral and political philosophy may be acceptable even where there is no field for teachers of chemistry and mechanics; and where no lecture at all can be supported, a library may be set on foot, and the habit of useful reading encouraged. We constantly hear of public-spirited individuals; of men who are friendly to the poor and the working classes; of liberal-minded persons, anxious for the diffusion of knowledge and the cultivation of intellectual pursuits. But no one has a right to assume such titles—to take credit for both zeal and knowledge—if he has done nothing in his own neighbourhood to found a popular lecture, or, should the circle be too narrow for that, to establish a reading club, which, in many cases, will end in a lecture. For such a club, there is hardly a village in the country too small; and I have shown that towns of a very moderate size may support a lecture. After the success of the experiments already made, indeed, it seems little less than shameful that there should be any considerable town without establishments for popular education. I speak from the actual history of some of the instances which I have cited, when I say that one man only is wanted in each place to ensure the success of the plan. Where there is such a man, and workmen in sufficient numbers,—there are all the materials that can be required. He has but to converse with a few master-workmen; to circulate, in concert with them, a notice for a meeting; or if it be deemed better to have no meeting, let them ascertain how many will attend a class; and the room may be hired and the lecturer engaged in a month. The first cost will be easily defrayed by a subscription among the rich; or, if that fail, the collection of a library will be made by degrees out of the money raised by the students. The expense of providing apparatus ought not to deter any one from making the attempt. I have shown how much may be done with but little machinery, and a skilful lecturer can give most useful help to private study, by drawings and explanations, with hardly any experiments at all. The facilities too will increase; the wish for scientific education will beget an effectual demand, and teachers will present themselves to supply the want. Already it would be a safe adventure for a lecturer to engage in, where there are great bodies of artisans. In any of the large manufacturing towns of Lancashire and

Yorkshire, a person duly qualified to teach the principles of mechanics and chemistry, and their application to the arts, would now find it easy to collect a large class, willing and able to remunerate him for his trouble; and it is highly probable, that, before long, there will be established, in each of those places, permanent teachers upon private speculation.

But, great as the disposition to learn already is among the working classes, and certain as a lecture would be of attendants wherever it was once set on foot, there is still a necessity for the upper classes coming forward to assist in making the first step. Those seminaries are still too new; they are too little known among the artisans generally to be thought of and demanded by themselves; still more difficult would it be for them to set about forming the plans for themselves. Even in the largest towns, it is hardly to be expected that the workmen should yet concert measures for their own instruction, although sufficiently numerous to require no pecuniary assistance in procuring the necessary teachers. The present then is the moment for making an effort to propagate the system; and for giving that encouragement which may at once spread those Institutions and render universally habitual the desire of knowledge that already prevails. Nor can the means be wanting among the upper, or even the middle ranks of society. There exist ample funds at present applied to charitable purposes, which at best are wasted, and more frequently employed in doing harm. I speak not now of the large revenue, a million and a half or more from endowments, which is almost altogether expended in a manner injurious to the community; not above a third part belonging to charities connected with education, and of that third by far the greatest portion going to maintain poor children, which is nearly the worst employment of such funds; while of the remaining two thirds, only a very small proportion is spent on perhaps the only harmless objects of common charity, hospitals for the sick poor, of provision for persons ruined by grievous and sudden calamities. But I allude to the large sums yearly collected in every part of the country to support charitable institutions; and, though given from the best of motives, yet applied to increase the number of the poor almost as certainly as the parish rates themselves. These funds are entirely under the control of the contributors; and to them I would fain address most respectfully a few words.

Every person who has been accustomed to subscribe for the support of what are commonly called charities, should ask himself this question. 'However humane the motive, am I 'doing any real good by so expending my money? or am I not 'doing more harm than good?' In either case, indeed, harm is done; because, even if the money so applied should do no mischief, yet, if it did no good, harm would be done by the waste.

But in order to enable him to answer the question, he must reflect, that no proposition is more undeniably true than this, that the existence of a known and regular provision for the poor, whether in the ordinary form of pensions, doles, gratuities, clothing, firing, &c., or in the shape of maintenance for poor children, in whole, or only in part, as clothing, has the inevitable tendency to bring forward not only as many objects as the provision will maintain, but a far greater number. The immediate consequence of such provisions is, to promote idleness and poverty beyond what the funds can relieve: the continued and known existence of the provisions trains up a race of paupers; and a provision for children, especially, promotes improvident marriages, and increases the population by the addition of paupers. It is therefore a sacred duty which every one owes to the community, to refrain from giving contributions to begin such funds; and if he has already become a yearly contributor, it is equally his duty to withdraw his assistance, unless one condition is complied with,—namely, that no new objects shall be taken into the establishment, but that those only who at present belong to it shall be maintained; so that the mischief may be terminated within a limited time, and nothing unfair or harsh done towards those who had previously depended on its funds. I remember the time when money given to beggars was supposed to be well bestowed—a notion now exploded; yet even this exercise of benevolence is less mischievous than the support of regular establishments for the increase of paupers*.

The wise and considerate manner of proceeding which I venture to recommend, would speedily place at the disposal of charitable and enlightened individuals ample funds for supporting works of real, because of most useful charity. Let any one cast his eye over the Reports of the Education Committee and Charity Commissioners, and he may form some idea of the large funds now profusely squandered under the influence of mistaken benevolence. Of the many examples that might be given, let one suffice; its history is in the Report of 1816. The income was above 2000*l.*, of which 1500*l.* arose from yearly subscriptions and donations. This large fund clothed 101 boys, and maintained 65 girls; but the expense of boarding and clothing the girls was of course by far the greatest part of it, perhaps 1200*l.* Much abuse appeared to have crept into the management, in consequence of tradesmen acting as trustees, and voting on the orders to themselves, and on the payment of their own accounts. It was deemed right to check this; and a rule was adopted, at a meeting of trustees, to prevent so scandalous a practice for the future. It was, however, rejected at a meeting of the sub-

* Letter to Sir S. Romilly, 1818.

scribers, for which, in all probability, the tradesmen had made a canvass, and obtained the attendance of friends. Nay, a most learned and humane Judge, who was one of the trustees, having afterwards proposed a resolution merely to forbid any trustee or subscriber voting on matters in which he was personally interested, it 'was rejected instantly, and therefore not recorded on the minutes;' whereupon his lordship abstained from attending any future meeting, and, I trust, from ever contributing to the fund. This is one instance only of thousands, where the money collected from well-disposed persons, who take no further charge of a charity than to pay their subscriptions, is wasted by the jobbing of too active and interested managers. But suppose there had been no direct abuse, and that all the income had been honestly and carefully employed in promoting the objects of the establishment, by far the greater part of it would have been hurtfully bestowed. Instead of clothing 101 boys, and maintaining 65 girls, at the rate of 2000*l.* a year, the fixed income alone of 500*l.* might have educated a thousand children, and left 1500*l.* a year free for establishing other schools, if wanted; and as two others of the same size would in all probability have more than sufficed to supply the defect of education which appears by the report of the West London Lancaster Association to exist in that district, a fund would have remained sufficient to support an institution for the instruction of 700 or 800 mechanics. Thus, the same money which is now not uselessly, but perniciously bestowed, might, by a little care, and a due portion of steadiness in resisting the interested clamours of persons who subscribe for the purpose of turning it to their own profit, be made the means of at once educating all the children in the worst district of London, and of planting there the light of science among the most useful and industrious class of the community. Now, within the same district, or applicable to it, there are probably other charitable funds, arising from voluntary contribution, to five or six times the amount of this single charity, and it is most likely that there is hardly one of the benevolent individuals who support it but contributes to one or more charities besides. How important, then, does it become for each man carefully to reconsider the use he is making, or suffering others to make, of that money which his humanity has set apart for the relief of his fellow-creatures, and the improvement of their condition; and how serious a duty is it to take care that what originates in the most praiseworthy motives should also end in results really beneficial to the objects of his bounty!

I rejoice to think that it is not necessary to close these observations by combating objections to the diffusion of science among

the working classes, arising from considerations of a political nature. Happily the time is past and gone when bigots could persuade mankind that the lights of philosophy were to be extinguished as dangerous to religion; and when tyrants could proscribe the instructors of the people as enemies to their power. It is preposterous to imagine that the enlargement of our acquaintance with the laws which regulate the universe, can dispose to unbelief. It may be a cure for superstition—for intolerance it will be the most certain cure; but a pure and true religion has nothing to fear from the greatest expansion which the understanding can receive by the study either of matter or of mind. The more widely science is diffused, the better will the Author of all things be known, and the less will the people be "tossed to and fro by the sleight of men, and "cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive." To tyrants, indeed, and bad rulers, the progress of knowledge among the mass of mankind is a just object of terror; it is fatal to them and their designs; they know this by unerring instinct, and unceasingly they dread the light. But they will find it more easy to curse than to extinguish. It is spreading in spite of them, even in those countries where arbitrary power deems itself most secure; and in England, any attempt to check its progress would only bring about the sudden destruction of him who should be insane enough to make it.

To the Upper Classes of society, then, I would say, that the question no longer is whether or not the people shall be instructed—for that has been determined long ago, and the decision is irreversible—but whether they shall be well or ill taught—half informed or as thoroughly as their circumstances permit and their wants require. Let no one be afraid of the bulk of the community becoming too accomplished for their superiors. Well educated, and even well versed in the most elevated sciences, they assuredly may become; and the worst consequence that can follow to their superiors will be, that to deserve being called their *betters*, they too must devote themselves more to the pursuit of solid and refined learning; the present public seminaries must be enlarged; and some of the greater cities of the kingdom, especially the metropolis*, must not be left destitute of the regular means within themselves of scientific education.

* Since this work was first published, I am very happy to say that considerable progress has been made in maturing a plan for improving the education of the middle and upper classes, by establishing a University in London. That this great city should so long have remained with the benefits of scientific education accessible only to the very small portion of its wealthiest classes, and beyond the reach of above a million of its inhabitants, seems hardly credible. Such a grievance could only have been submitted to through the inveterate habit which men are apt to get into of conceiving that no one thing can

To the Working Classes I would say, that this is the time when by a great effort they may secure for ever the inestimable blessing of knowledge. Never was the disposition more universal among the rich to lend the requisite assistance for setting in motion the great engines of instruction; but the people must come forward to profit by the opportunity thus afforded, and they must themselves continue the movement once begun. Those who have already started in the pursuit of science, and tasted its sweets, require no exhortation to persevere; but if these pages should fall into the hands of any one at an hour for the first time stolen from his needful rest after his day's work is done, I ask of him to reward me (who have written them for his benefit at the like hours) by saving threepence during the next fortnight, buying with it Franklin's Life, and reading the first page. I am quite sure he will read the rest; I am almost quite sure he will resolve to spend his spare time and money in gaining those kinds of knowledge which from a printer's boy made that great man the first philosopher, and one of the first statesmen of his age. Few are fitted by nature to go as far as he did, and it is not necessary to lead so perfectly abstemious a life, and to be so rigidly saving of every instant of time. But all may go a good way after him, both in temperance, industry and knowledge, and no one can tell before he tries how near he may be able to approach him.

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be arranged otherwise than they have been used to see it. It cannot be borne much longer; nor is the establishment of a great public school now problematical upon a like plan, combining cheap education with the inestimable advantage of parental superintendence. The only benefit that I have ever heard ascribed to a premature emancipation of children is, that it is supposed to give them manly habits. I never saw any want of manly feelings at the proper age, that is the years of manhood, among boys educated in the Scotch public schools, where they eat, and sleep, and spend their Saturdays and Sundays at home. Nor have I ever known in those seminaries such scenes of early manhood as have lately disgraced one of our public seminaries, and brought almost equal disgrace upon the administration of criminal justice in England.

THE END.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY RICHARD TAYLOR, SHOE-LANE.

A

REPLY

TO

MR. BROUGHAM'S

"PRACTICAL OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE;

ADDRESSED TO THE

WORKING CLASSES AND THEIR EMPLOYERS."

BY

E. W. GRINFIELD, M.A.

MINISTER OF LAURA CHAPEL, BATH.

"I was not made for a minion or a tool. As little can I follow the trade of winning the hearts by imposing on the understandings of *the people*."

BURKE.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR C. AND J. RIVINGTON,

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AND WATERLOO-PLACE, PALL-MALL.

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PREFACE.

In submitting the following Strictures on Mr. Brougham's Pamphlet to the attention of the Public, the author is aware that he is exposing himself to much obloquy and misrepresentation. By some it will be imputed to a low-minded jealousy of the scientific Education of the Labouring Orders; by others, to an ignorance of the beneficial effects of intellectual advancement; by others, to motives of self-interest:—in short, whatever is base and ungenerous may be easily surmised against him; but that man is altogether unworthy of public confidence, who is not willing to hazard his individual reputation for the sake of withstanding any popular delusion. If he is correct, the Education of the People is beginning to take a false direction. It is attempted to

be made too scientific and philosophical, instead of being chiefly moral and religious; and the knowledge of particular arts and sciences is recommended as the channel of Popular Improvement, instead of that *general knowledge* which is the best manure of the mind. Whether the Author is right or wrong in his opinion, is for the Public to decide; but that he is not averse to any practicable advancement of the Labouring Classes in useful knowledge, he may appeal to the list of his former Publications.

" Hæc novimus esse nihil."

Bath, April 4, 1825.

A

REPLY,

&c. &c.

The extraordinary anxiety which has been manifested by Mr. Brougham and his friends, to give circulation and publicity to his late Pamphlet on the scientific Education of the People, is of itself a sufficient evidence of the importance which he attaches to the subject on which it treats. Having first made its appearance as an article in the Edinburgh Review, *(See Number* 81, *Artic. V.)*; it has since been republished with his name, and has already, I believe, realized the most ardent wishes of his Reviewer, "by having circulated an hundred times more widely," than the brief notice of it in the last number of the same Journal. *(See Number* 82, *Artic. XII.)* The copy which I possess, is designated as the "thirteenth edition." It is printed "for the benefit of the London Mechanics Institution," and the work is evidently intended as a manifesto to all the mechanics and artizans of Great Britain and Ireland.

That Mr. Brougham is a man of great genius, and of still greater energy and ambition, is well known to men of all parties and opinions; but whether his genius is sufficiently controlled by his judgment to render him a safe legislator on the delicate subject of National Educa-

tion, or whether his ambition is sufficiently chastised by prudence and moderation to give him the possession of public confidence, are questions on which his friends and admirers, perhaps, think very differently from the great body of the English nation.

On the one hand we are told, by his eulogists, that "of the many titles to distinction we meet with in the person of Mr. Brougham, there is none we should so much envy as that which rests on his services in the cause of education. The good he has done *there* is the most unquestioned and extensive; and the honours he has gained, the least alloyed with faction, the least troubled even by eager contention or dispute, whilst the efforts he has lately made in behalf of the Mechanics' Institutions, appear to us the most important and meritorious of all," &c. (*See Edinburgh Review, Number* 82, *p.* 508.) But by others, much of this praise is thought entirely misplaced; that Mr. B., by his constitutional violence and impetuosity, is altogether unfitted for plans and objects which demand the exercise of a calm and dispassionate judgment; that the habits of a pleader and an advocate have destroyed the equilibrium of his talents; and that he has so identified himself with those who are habitually opposed to the measures of government, that a spirit of faction and violence is mingled with all his projects.

Without pretending to decide which of these estimates of Mr. Brougham's public character is the more judicious and correct, if we make the appeal to what he has already accomplished or attempted on the subject of National Education, we shall discover but little to justify such exalted encomiums on his merits. He commenced, I believe, as a violent partizan of Mr. Lancaster against Dr. Bell; opposed and defamed the "National Society for the Education of the Poor in the

Principles of the Established Church;" for some time exclusively supported the "British Schools;" then vibrated between them and the "National;" sought to form an alliance with both, and succeeded in gaining the confidence of neither; then brought forward his Parliamentary bill, when "the lukewarmness of many, and the honest, and by him, even to be respected scruples of some, have hitherto obstructed his designs:" *(Introduction.)* in a word, his whole career as a legislator on popular Education, has been hitherto a strange medley of bold attempts and impotent performances;—of oscillations and defeats, of the most extensive theory, and of the most unsuccessful practice.

Still his ambition remains undaunted; and though, if we believe his friends, "he has no other excitement than that general philanthropy, and that high-minded anticipation of the love and gratitude of posterity, by which patriots are supported, when they silently confer lasting blessings on their countrymen, without raising their passions, or making any demand on their applause;" *(Edin. Rev. No. 82, p. 508.)* yet, he pursues this object amidst victory and defeat, with all his characteristic earnestness and avidity. It appears, that he has been for some time engaged on a large and extensive work on Popular Education "in its three branches,—Infant Schools,—Elementary Schools (for reading and writing), —and Adult Schools;" and that the present Pamphlet is only a synopsis of his sentiments on the last: however, he seems to claim the whole ground as exclusively belonging to himself and his friends.—"Any meddling on the part of government with the first *(Infant Schools!)*, would be inexpedient; and with the last *(Adult Schools)*, perilous to civil and religious liberty." *(Introduction.)* "It is only with the second *(Elementary Schools,)* that the Legislature can safely interfere:" or, as the version

runs in the Edinburgh Review, "the interference of government may not only be safe but advantageous, and even necessary in providing the means of Elementary Education for Children; but that no interference can be tolerated, in the smallest extent, with the subsequent instruction of the people." *(Number* 81, *p:* 97.*)*

Now since Mr. Brougham, "in concert with those friends who hold the same doctrines, has endeavoured to establish *Infant* Schools, it seems to follow," he adds, "from the same view of the subject, that I should lend any little help in my power towards fixing the public attention on the Education of *Adults:*" but, as the "Elementary Schools" "have been repeatedly brought before Parliament" by the same authority, it also follows, that he looks upon *them* with all the fondness and affection of a patron; and thus *Popular Education,* in all its branches, belongs to Mr. Brougham and his friends; and "from tail to snout the pig is eaten."

It has been necessary to premise these observations, to put my reader in possession of the large and extensive views which Mr. B., and "his fellow-labourers in the North," entertain on this subject. Already he speaks with the authority of a legislator;—the empire of "the Education of the People," he considers as peculiarly his own;—he invests himself with the importance of a dictator, both to the Senate and to the People, nor does he over-rate his dignity and importance, *if* this empire should be conceded to his hands.

It is in vain to deny that literature, as it is well or ill conducted, is the great engine by which all civilized governments must stand or fall; and that the influence of literature is becoming daily of greater magnitude and importance in this country. But the attempt to gain the chief, if not the sole direction of this engine, as it is worked by *the people,* is no other than an attempt to

gain the supreme direction of public sentiment. This it is the object of "Mr. Brougham and his friends," to achieve, by becoming the real or apparent patrons of "the Education of the People;" whether pursued under the form of Infant, Elementary, or Adult Schools, the object is still the same. A more grand, sublime, and noble object, it never entered into the heart of man to conceive; it is the που στω by which the nation itself may be lifted up or depressed: but whether Mr. Brougham should be allowed to act as the Archimedes on this occasion, is happily a question, not "for his friends," but for the *public* to determine.

I shall now venture to throw out some "Plain Thoughts" on these three branches of Popular Education, much in the same manner, that I formerly threw out some "Plain Thoughts" on his "Parliamentary Education Bill." It is a subject deserving the deepest attention of all who value the safety and prosperity of the British Constitution; and if the attention of others can be awakened who are more able to give weight and effect to their opinions, my fullest wishes will be accomplished.

And first, with respect to *Infant* Schools, the establishment of which is of very recent date in this country, and which, notwithstanding all the encomiums of Mr. Brougham and his Northern allies, *(See Edinburgh Review, May* 1823, *Art. VIII.)* seem liable to many strong, if not unanswerable objections. It is the professed object of these Schools to save the trouble and attention of the poor towards their younger children, during the hours of daily labour;—an object which, however, at first sight may appear benevolent and desirable, will, on further examination, be found fantastical and dangerous. It is an attempt to do that by deputy, which it was intended, by God and nature, that parents should do for themselves. It is not desirable that the

poor, any more than the rich, should be saved the trouble and the care of attending on their infant progeny. It is the great tie which endears the relation of the parent and the child;—it is the bond of domestic prudence and economy; and if once interfered with by meddling and officious charity, it will be found, that in our restless attempts of doing good, we shall have produced an infinity of evil.

There is at present at work in this country, a most amiable, but as it appears to me, a most mistaken desire on the part of the benevolent, to regulate and remodel nearly the whole life and manners of the labouring orders. New charities are springing up every day, to the great injury of those which are already in existence;—charities, many of which are of the most dubious and far-fetched tendency, and which, to speak plainly, seem to be the offspring of a vague and sickly philanthropy, rather than of a manly and healthy desire to do what is practicable and attainable in bettering the condition of the poor.

Amongst these fashionable novelties, is the attempt to take children of eighteen months to the age of four years, and to nurse them up at such Infant Schools, at a time when they ought to be running about and playing in all the carelessness and unconsciousness of childhood. The children are marched up and down the school with all the formality of a regiment; a degree of premature knowledge is forced upon them, and a great deal of pains is taken to do that which would come of its own accord, if left to a later period.

Whether a child learn at the age of three or of four, "what is a sheep?—what is a cooper?—what casks are made for?" &c. (*Edin. Rev. No. 76, p.* 451.) it really is of very little consequence; but it is of great consequence that he should not become a formal, priggish little crea-

ture, which is always dressed in its best clothes, and which, instead of being allowed to tumble about at home, is kept in unnatural order by being kept under the eye of gentlemen and ladies. Children are sufficiently cunning and artful, without all these artificial attempts to spoil them beforehand; and, for my part, I had rather see them somewhat dirty in their apparel, and even occasionally with a scratch or a bruise, than behold them trained up in a system which is suited only to the formality of Quakers, or to the parellelograms of Mr. Owen.

As to all the affectation of giving them better air, of teaching them better manners, &c., it can be considered nothing but the most arrant humbug, when the age and circumstances of the children are remembered. The air in which they were bred and born, and in which they must still spend the greater part of their lives, cannot, as we would charitably hope, be very deleterious to their constitutions; nor is it likely to be much worse than that of a room in which so many children are collected. As to their manners and their tempers, they are quite as likely to be corrected by their parents, as by the official kindness of a hired teacher; and when their tender age is remembered, we think that none but a mother should be entrusted with such correction. I have seen handcuffs for their little arms, suspended in these Infant Asylums; and though I am disposed to believe that they were introduced only as objects of terror; yet, there was something so revolting in the spectacle, that it could not be beheld without indignation.

But, after all, I am disposed to think, that the ill effects upon the children are trifling, if compared with those on the parents. I cannot conceive of a greater injury that any man can do to another, than to save him the trouble of attending to his own duties; and if any duties be less fitted than others to be discharged by proxy, they are

those of a mother towards her infant children. No advantages which may accidentally arise from allowing more leisure or opportunity for work, can, in my opinion, possibly compensate for this inroad on domestic duty. The most virtuous of the poor are those which pay the most attention to their young children; and to attempt to stand between them and their offspring, by sending them to Infant Schools at this early period, is, in my view, to do an irreparable injury to their motives for prudence and sobriety.

It might have been hoped, that the great and acknowledged evils arising from our poor laws, would have taught the people of this country the danger and difficulty of intermeddling with those laws of Nature on which the whole fabric of society is reared; but attempts like these are calculated to bring about the very mischief which they seek to remedy. By doing away with the necessity of watching over their infant children, you destroy a moral habit in their minds, which is of infinitely greater value than any that can be planted in its stead. You teach the poor to be always expecting help from others instead of depending on their own energies and exertions. You remove the greatest of all restraints on vice and profligacy —the presence of their young children; in a word, by this unnatural derangement of their domestic economy, it is hard to say, how many evils you may occasion, whilst you are pursuing the phantoms of your benevolence.

Still, it should be remembered, that the system of Infant Schools is well calculated to make a very strong impression on *the parents*, by prepossessing them in favour of those by whom they are chiefly supported and patronized; and, consequently, that if generally adopted by those who favour the British Schools, it must eventually be taken up by others who prefer the National

System. Whatever may have been the motives of Mr. Brougham and his friends for introducing this plan, it is in effect, *to steal a march* on all other parties; and whether they approve or not of its principles, they will be obliged to adopt it as a measure of self-defence, if it should become generally established, as a preface to the Lancasterian Schools.

Having made these general observations on the first branch of Popular Education, I shall proceed to notice Mr. Brougham's second division, viz. "Elementary Schools for reading and writing." And here the first remark which naturally arises is this,—that it is either a gross mistake, or a wilful misrepresentation, to describe the Schools of this kind as if they were wholly or chiefly employed with communicating the mere power of pronouncing or writing words or letters. And yet the whole argument which Mr. Brougham and his friends employ to demonstrate the propriety of legislative interference with these Schools, is founded on this unaccountable misstatement. "The fundamental principle which merits attention in discussing this subject is, that the interference of the government may be not only safe but advantageous, and even necessary in providing the means of elementary education for children; but that no such interference can be tolerated, to the smallest extent, with the subsequent instruction of the people. If a child be only taught to read and write, it is extremely immaterial by whom, or on what terms, he is put in possession of the instruments by which knowledge may be acquired. It would, no doubt, be a gross act of oppression, if the government were to spend part of the money raised from the people at large, in forming Schools from which, by the regulations, certain classes of the community should be excluded. But if these schools are only so constructed that all may enter, no dangerous influence can result to

the government, and no undue bias be communicated to the minds of the children by having them taught the art of reading in seminaries connected with the establishment in Church and State. It is far otherwise with the use that may afterwards be made of the tools thus acquired." (See *Edinburgh Review, October* 1824, p. 97.) It is probable that the reviewer imagined he was here making a very nice distinction between the Elementary and the Adult Schools, but the distinction is founded on a most foolish assumption, viz. that at these Elementary Schools no moral habits, no religious principles, nothing is to be taught and nothing learnt but the abstract faculty of reading and writing! What a strange notion must Mr. B. and his Northern friends possess of the ends and objects of popular education! As if no bias were to be communicated to the minds of the children, as if we were to educate the people on the principles of Rousseau, to leave them without rudder or compass to steer and reckon by. It was on these strange principles that Mr. B. constructed his celebrated "Education Bill," a bill that pleased men of no party, because it aimed at an object which it was neither possible nor desirable to attain, viz. to leave the minds of children in a state of neutrality to all moral, religious, and political opinions.

Here then we have arrived at the secret of all this ado about "the education of the people," whether proposed by Joseph Lancaster, by Pestalozzi, or Emanuel Fellenburgh; by "our amiable countryman, Robert Owen," or by all the worthies whose Christian names are so distinctly registered in Dr. Pole's Pamphlet on Infant Schools. (*Edin. Rev. No.* 76, *p.* 443.) But notwithstanding these great authorities, there is little danger in asserting, that if the mere power of reading and writing were all the benefit to be derived from these Elementary Schools, it would be far better that the common people of

this country should remain totally illiterate, than they should thus be furnished with *tools* by which they would inevitably work out their own and the public ruin.

What may be the object of Mr. Brougham and his friends in establishing a system of popular education I do not pretend to say, but I can speak with some precision as to the views which have actuated the friends and supporters of the *National* Schools. So far from confining their endeavours to the mere communication of reading and writing, it is the grand design of this system to "train up the children in the way wherein they should go," to inspire their youthful minds with the love and the fear of God, to impress them with feelings of moral responsibility, and to teach them that all real knowledge must begin with the fear of the Lord. So far from making the elements of reading and writing the aim and scope of their instruction, the children are taught to regard such attainments as merely subservient to a knowledge and discharge of their duties; they are habitually brought up with a *bias* in favour of the existing order of things, obedience to civil governors is inculcated on their minds as a bounden duty; they are regularly taken to Church, habits of order and obedience are impressed upon them betimes, they are taught to restrain their passions, and to make the doctrines and duties of Christianity the motives of their conduct, and the rules of their behaviour.

Such are the great and important objects of *our* Elementary Schools. We aim at bringing up the children to reverence the laws and institutions of their country, not to leave them to seek opinions from wandering lecturers on civil and political science; not to leave them (according to Mr. Brougham's quotation from Scripture, p. 32,) "to be tossed to and fro by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness whereby they lie in weight to de-

ceive," but to act by these children of the poor in the same manner that every conscientious parent acts by his own child, viz. to embue their infant minds with those sentiments and maxims which we ourselves, from reason and experience, have found to constitute the security and happiness of human life.

That if these Elementary Schools are not to become the fruitful sources of public misery and confusion, such must and ought to be the lessons which they inculcate, it can require no argument to show. The mere faculty of reading and writing, as Mr. Brougham allows, is but a *tool*, or, as I should call it, a *weapon*: but the use of such tools and weapons must be taught the children *at the same time* when they are put into their hands. It is not possible to send them out into the world in a state of neutrality towards good and evil, and if it were possible it would not be just to leave them in such neutrality: no, whilst their hearts are yet young and tender, we must endeavour to *bias* them in favour of what we know to be just, and good, and expedient, and it is but "science falsely so called" which stigmatizes such an education as founded on prejudice and partiality.

According to Mr. Brougham's representation we are to suppose that "the Elementary Schools," being confined to the mere instruction in reading and writing, have no connection nor influence on the future character and conduct of the individual, who, upon quitting such schools, must begin his own education by entering upon what he very ambiguously denominates *an Adult School*. But there are few persons who can rightly conjecture what is meant by these words in Mr. Brougham's vocabulary. Hitherto it has been usual to signify by an *Adult* School, those charitable institutions at which *adults* whose education has been neglected in their youth, may compensate for such defects by attaining the knowledge of reading

and writing. But we are introduced by Mr. Brougham's pamphlet to another, and to us a very strange application of these expressions. Be it known, then, to all who are equally ignorant and uninformed, that by an adult school is henceforward to be understood, a philosophical institute for the labouring orders, including a library and apparatus, at which lectures are delivered on Mathematics and Astronomy and Geology, on Chemistry and Hydrostatics, on Electricity, and what surprises us most of all, "*on the French language;*" at least such, gentle reader, was the course pursued by Professor Millington and by Dr. Birkbeck and by Messrs. Phillips, Dotchin, Cooper, Newton and Tatum, during last winter in our metropolis. It is proper to observe that the peculiar and original merit of lecturing *English* workmen and mechanics on the *French* language belongs exclusively to Mr. Black. (See "Observations," p. 21). Now we say, that as Mr. Brougham supposes nothing more to be taught in the Elementary Schools than the mere faculty of reading and writing, it is plain the pupils must come to these Adult Schools very indifferently prepared to enter on such scientific investigations. It may be humbly suggested, that before this audience can take the full benefit of Dr. Lindsay's Chapel in Monkwell Street, or of Mr. Brougham's omens, "and surely," as he observes, "a scheme for the improvement of mankind could not be commenced under happier auspices than in the place which so virtuous and enlightened a friend to his country had once filled with the spirit of genuine philanthropy and universal toleration," (p. 21.); that the instructions which are furnished by Mr. Brougham's Elementary Schools should be somewhat enlarged; for I fear that if he should hereafter carry his Education Bill, it will be found beyond the omnipotence of parliament, though assisted by all the justices in the kingdom, to render such

lectures intelligible to those who have learnt only to read and to write.

But the subject is grave, and it demands the most grave investigation. If Mr. Brougham is serious in his wishes to give the labouring classes a *scientific* education, nothing can be more absurd than to confine the Elementary Schools, at which they must be previously educated, to the mere objects of reading and writing. It is plain that such schools ought then to be brought into harmony with such an object, and that the previous culture and improvement of the mind should correspond to his ulterior designs. But in the present want of all proportion we can regard his scheme as nothing better "than the baseless fabric of a vision," as happily quite beyond his or any man's power to accomplish on a large and permanent scale; but calculated, so far as it can be accomplished, to alarm all sober and prudent persons amongst the middle and upper orders of society, and to render the labouring classes uneasy, unhappy, and dissatisfied.

To what extent the education of the people should be carried is a question on which a variety of opinions will be entertained, but no prudent man can doubt that in exact proportion to its extent ought to be the pains and care bestowed on their elementary instruction. To take a man who can only just read and spell and to invite him to lectures on Chemistry or Mathematics, is one of the most absurd and foolish projects that was ever brought forward. It is exactly on minds like these, "that a little learning is a dangerous thing;" all the previous habits and discipline are wanted which might turn it to a good and beneficial account, the man becomes conceited and inflated by his supposed acquirements, and thus popular education would fall into disrepute from the mistakes and blunders of those who seem the most desirous to advance it.

It is on these grounds that I strongly object to the whole system which Mr. Brougham proposes, as calculated, in my opinion, to defeat the very object which he designs to attain. Let the Elementary Schools for the common people *first* produce their effects in raising the standard of their minds to their proper pitch, before any attempts are made to give them a philosophical and scientific education. Let them become conversant with Morals and History and Biography before we introduce them to Chemistry, Hydrostatics, or Astronomy. Instead of encouraging restless or self-interested individuals to rove about the country, distracting the minds of our mechanics by lecturing on civil or political economy, or by giving them a smattering in the higher branches of abstract science, let cheap collections of books be formed in our towns and cities, consisting of the popular literature of our country, containing voyages and travels, the lives of eminent individuals, and the history of the most distinguished nations. What Johnson said of education in general, is still more strictly applicable to the education of the common people—"Whether we provide for action or conversation, whether we wish to be useful or pleasing, the first requisite is the religious knowledge of right and wrong; the next an acquaintance with the history of mankind, and with those examples which embody truth, and which prove by events the reasonableness of opinions. Prudence and justice are virtues of all times and of all places. We are perpetually moralists, we are geometricians only by chance." And the force of these remarks may be still further demonstrated from the consideration that the highest improvements of abstract science have a very remote connection with any improvement of the heart, and that a man whose hours are chiefly devoted to handicraft labour or mechanical operations is likely to derive far greater benefit from reading on moral and mis-

cellaneous subjects than from any researches into the philosophy of trade and commerce. He is like a plant which requires a change of soil, and to accomplish this change you must take him off, if possible, from his daily and constant avocations. Hence it will be found that an instructive tale or history will be much more calculated to enlarge and improve his mind, than if he were to pore over the mysteries of steam and gas, or to confound himself with all the theories of Malthus or Ricardo.

Another very strong reason for giving the labouring orders a moral and literary rather than a scientific education, arises from its superior effect on their economical and domestic habits. Lectures and institutions which tempt the labourer or mechanic to leave his home and family are at best of very dubious advantage; I should prefer the simplest improvement gained by his fire-side, and in company with his wife and family, to the most ostentatious meetings of the London Institution. When seven or eight hundred mechanics meet together in the evening after their daily occupations, it may be feared, that not all the allurements of science could always prevent them adjourning afterwards to the tavern or the ale-house; to say the least of it, it is a selfish indulgence from which their wives and children can gain no benefit. They return home quite unfitted to join in the domestic circle, and it is well if self-conceit and self-importance do not tempt them to look down upon others with disdain.

I am far from imputing any bad motives to those who have patronized such meetings. I am inclined to think that Mr. Brougham has been led away by his ardent genius, and by his well-known predilection for abstract science, to imagine that great benefits may thus be derived to artizans and mechanics from what he calls "the scientific education of the people." But not all his threatening that "any attempt to check its progress would only

bring about the sudden destruction of him who should be insane enough to make it," (p. 32.) shall deter me from giving my free opinions respecting the plan which he proposes, and from recommending a far more safe, sound, and judicious method of spreading light and knowledge amongst the labouring part of the community.

To his suggestion (p. 2.) for the encouragement of cheap publications for the use of this part of society, consisting of our most admired and popular authors, there can be no reasonable objection. I have long wished to see collections of this kind universally established in our large towns and cities, and have laboured to the utmost of my power to recommend the plan to public notice. But surely it is desirable that the choice of such books should be left to those whose superior knowledge may enable them to direct the reading of others. I would suggest then that cheap circulating libraries should be generally established for this purpose, that the books should consist of tales and voyages, of history and biography, of elementary books on trade and arts and manufactures, in fact of all the plain and miscellaneous literature of the country. Something of this kind, though upon a very small scale, has already been undertaken by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which has added a supplemental list of books on miscellaneous subjects to its regular catalogue of religious works*; but it is plain that far greater variety is requisite to give success to this plan, and that the minds of the working orders are now arriving at such a degree of strength and maturity that they will no longer be satisfied with the simple food which contented their forefathers.

The case is this, we must either undertake to meet this demand for popular information by furnishing them with cheap editions of our most popular writers, or we must

* See Appendix, No. 1.

leave them to chance and accident to make their own selection; or, what appears to be the worst of all, we must leave them to the tricks of wandering lecturers who shall harangue them on subjects little fitted to their rank and condition in society, and still less fitted to promote their private and domestic happiness.

In this dilemma the duty of all who wish well to the safety and security of our present establishments in Church and State, is plain and incontrovertible. The day has gone by for arguing the previous question whether the poor shall be educated or not, the period is rapidly approaching when the fruits and effects of this education will become visible to all. Already restless and artful men are attempting to pervert it to their own mischievous purposes; some under the mask of diffusing science are teaching them a species of knowledge which may give them power but will not furnish them with the means or desire of self-government; others under the pretence of the love of liberty, are inviting them to discuss questions of politics, and to attend lectures on moral and political science; but every friend to our present establishments in Church and State is bound now to lend his influence to keep things in their proper channels, by making the knowledge and education of the poor subservient to their advancement in piety and morals, and by encreasing their attachment to the laws and institutions of our country.

But though it is desirable that cheap editions of our most popular writers should be printed for the labouring orders, I cannot agree with Mr. Brougham, "that the method of publishing in *numbers* is admirably suited to the circumstances of the class whose income is derived from wages." (p. 3.) On the contrary, I believe that the pockets of the poor are almost invariably pillaged by the hawkers who vend such periodical publications.

When it is considered how liable a poor man is to such imposition, how easily single numbers may be lost or torn, the difficulty and expense of the binding, and perhaps the uncertainty of the work being ever finished, it appears far better for him to lay by a few shillings till he can purchase the book entire, than thus to run the risk of loss and imposition.

Nor can I agree with Mr. Brougham in thinking, that any great benefit will accrue to the working classes from studying the crabbed doctrines of "political economy," nor "from expounding to them the true principles and mutual relation of population and wages." (p. 5.) Whatever abstract truth may be contained in such speculations, I would, with all deference, submit that they are likely to produce very little practical benefit. It is not likely any poor man could be deterred from a premature or imprudent marriage from making himself acquainted with the theory of Mr. Malthus, though a lively and animated story which displayed the evils of such an imprudent connection, might *possibly* produce a salutary effect. Still less am I inclined to admit with Mr. Brougham that "every topic of politics, party as well as general," should be forced on the attention of this part of society; or "that the abuses which through time have crept into the practice of the constitution, the errors committed in its administration, and the *improvements which a change of circumstances require even in its principles*, may most fitly be expounded in the same manner." (p. 5.) I am as much a friend, I trust, to the civil and religious liberties of my country as Mr. Brougham or any of his Northern allies, but there is a time and place for all things, and it is very clear that no moral or political benefit could arise to the community from bringing such topics under the *especial* notice of our mechanics or artizans.

With respect to "book clubs and reading societies" amongst the poor, they appear to be far too formal and expensive to be generally adopted. A poor man can give at most but the odds and ends of his time to reading, it is much better then that he should pay a small annual subscription, say a shilling a year, for the use of such books as he may wish to look into, than to burden himself by their purchase. In a library of this kind at Bath, the books have been found to last good for several years, though they have been read by many hundred individuals, and during the whole time not an instance has occurred of any book being stolen or purloined. Mr. Brougham need not have travelled into Scotland for "parish or cottage libraries," as the plan has been very generally adopted in many parts of this kingdom, and has thence extended to several of the colonies and dependencies of Great Britain.

But the advantages of reading at home by the cottager's fire-side, and in the midst of his own family, is so very apparent if compared with any sort of "association" or "club," that I am surprised to find Mr. Brougham giving any sanction to such tumultuous assemblies. (p. 8.) It is scarcely possible to think that any prudent or sensible master would encourage or countenance such meetings of his workmen, but if any could be so foolish or absurd, I doubt not that a "strike" would soon awake him from his reveries. It is easy to observe that there is a strange ignorance of human nature discoverable in many of Mr. Brougham's speculations.

Several of his suggestions, however, as to the best mode of communicating scientific instruction to artizans and mechanics are both ingenious and solid, *if* I could bring myself to believe that this kind of instruction would really benefit those classes of the people. But, feeling persuaded, that, with a few rare and splendid exceptions, the

knowledge of "Geometry" and "Algebra" and "Dynamics," is not necessary to carpenters, and that the study of "Mathematics" and "Natural Philosophy" is little adapted to those who must earn their bread with their daily labour, it is not in my power to admire this Utopian scheme of popular education. Nothing should be denied to the poor that is calculated to render them more virtuous and happy; but it seems to be a gross delusion, if not absolute quackery, to call their attention to lectures on "mechanical philosophy and chemistry, astronomy and geology," nor can I see any reason why "moral and political philosophy should be explained to them in public lectures, though they may be learnt by reading far more easily than the physical sciences." (p. 11.)

Such strange projects appear to argue much more of a restless ambition, bent on trying rash novelties, than they indicate of that "good sense which though no science is fairly worth the seven." Doubtless it is possible, by continued and repeated efforts, to *force* a kind of unnatural enquiry amongst the common people. Men who love popularity and display may easily collect large assemblages of workmen to listen to things which they do not and cannot understand; they may fire them with the hope of becoming "a working Chemyst, like Scheele," or "a working Printer, like Franklin," and whilst they are thus disturbing and agitating society they may imagine themselves actuated "by no other excitement than that of general philanthropy." But I confess that I behold all such spectacles with some diffidence and distrust, and that a less noisy and less ostentatious mode of doing good would have greater attractions, even though "fit lecturers" should be obtained for every town and village in the United Kingdom.

The most *suspicious* feature of this system remains still

to be mentioned. It consists in the total *independence* of all such undertakings on the assistance or co-operation of the upper orders, just as if the man who had been originally taught to read and write by others should spurn at any aid or encouragement which might be afforded to him in the subsequent stages of his improvement. Friends as we are to civil and religious liberty, we really cannot perceive what injury could possibly arise to the poor from a continuance of this interchange of kindness; and circumstanced as society is in this country, in which the various ranks insensibly fall into each other, it does not appear either practicable or expedient that the knowledge and improvement of the labouring classes should not, in a great measure, be derived from the aid and munificence and encouragement of their employers.

To attempt to prevent such influence is neither just nor practicable; a man must gain his knowledge and opinions from some quarter, and if not obliged to his employer, he must be influenced by the hireling lecturer to whom he listens. If the education of the labouring orders is not to produce confusion and jealousy, it ought to harmonize with that of the upper classes of society; to attempt to keep them distinct is to set them at variance with each other; I am quite at a loss, therefore, to understand the morbid jealousy of Mr. B. on this subject. "I really should be disposed to view," says he, "any advantage in point of knowledge gained by the body of the people, as somewhat equivocal, or at least as much alloyed with evil, if purchased by the increase of their dependence on their superiors." (p. 16.) I shall only add, that, without wishing for any servility from the poor, it is fervently to be hoped that the moral influence which God and nature meant to be possessed by the richer and more educated classes of society should ever be retained, and that it should exert itself exactly in pro-

portion to the extent to which the education of the labouring orders is carried.

But to enable my reader to judge of the extent to which this project of a scientific education for the labouring classes has already advanced, and to convince him that these are not chimeras or phantoms of my own invention, I shall now present him with a summary of its origin and progress. It appears that the public are indebted to Dr. Birkbeck for the first attempt of this kind, which was made at *Glasgow* so far back as the year 1800, "yet twenty years elapsed before the example was followed, and it was not till the year 1821 that *Edinburgh* adopted the plan with some variations." Here a course of lectures was delivered on Mechanics, and another on Chemistry; a library and school of arts were established, and a class was formed and placed under a Joiner who taught gratuitously the Elements of Geometry and the higher branches of Arithmetic. The average receipts of the first two years were from subscriptions £448, and from students £300, leaving nearly £180 surplus for the payment of lecturers, &c. The number of mechanics who attended appear to have been about 400.

The success which had attended this project at Edinburgh encouraged Dr. Birkbeck, on his removal to London, to make a similar attempt amongst the artizans and mechanics of the metropolis. "A meeting was held in November 1823, and a Mechanics' Institution was formed so promptly, that in January the lectures were opened upon Mechanics by Professor Millington, and upon Chemistry by Mr. Phillips. Amongst the most important regulations," as Mr. Brougham informs us, "is this, that the committee of management shall be chosen by the whole students, and consist of at least two-thirds working men." Between twelve and thirteen hundred workmen

speedily entered, paying one pound each, and crowding from great distances in the worst weather, and after the toils of the day were over, to slake that thirst of knowledge, which, as it forms so glorious a characteristic of these times, so will assuredly prove the source of improvements in the next age, calculated to throw all that has yet been witnessed into the shade. Temporary accommodation has hitherto been procured in the Chapel in Monkwell Street, formerly Dr. Lindsay's, but it is intended to place the Institution on a permanent footing; commodious premises have been provided accordingly in Southampton Buildings, for which more than £3000 have been generously advanced by Dr. Birkbeck, others have made presents of money, books, and apparatus; Sir Francis Burdett has given £1000, and it is expected that several other establishments of the same kind will soon be set up in other parts of London.

"But it is equally clear that these seminaries of popular education must soon spread over every part of the country." At Manchester, Newcastle, Leeds, and Liverpool, at Kendal, Carlisle, Sheffield, Aberdeen, Norwich and Taunton, not to mention many other places in Great Britain, these establishments are already created; nor is even Ireland without attempts of the same kind. At Dublin and Cork there are Mechanics' Institutions already in action, and there is reason to expect that Limerick and Belfast will soon follow the example.

For these particulars I am indebted to Mr. Brougham's pamphlet, and to the article which appeared in the Edinburgh Review, October 1824. I have inserted them as matters of fact and history from which every one must draw his own conclusion. For my own part, I am inclined to view them, if not with all the enthusiasm of Mr. Brougham and Dr. Birkbeck, yet with mingled emotions

of hope and fear; I see great powers called forth into exercise, and I am anxious that such powers should take a good and salutary direction.

I am far from asserting that any branch of useful and practical knowledge may not very properly engage the leisure of those who have time and talents to cultivate an acquaintance with art or science, but here, as in every other pursuit, good sense and sobriety should prevail over mere declamation and vague enthusiasm. A labouring man can devote only a very small portion of his time to such enquiries; it is folly therefore to throw open the whole field of science to his view, or to attempt to force him on pursuits which are calculated neither to improve his station in society, nor to render him more happy in that station to which Providence has called him.

Individuals there are, in every rank of society, who by their native superiority of talent may find their way to eminence and distinction, and it is the pride and boast of our country, that no man, whatever be his origin, is necessarily excluded from such advancement. But it is neither wise nor expedient to speak as if "the day were now to break in which we may hope to see no marked line of separation between the workman and the philosopher." (p. 4.) The leading distinctions of society will always remain the same, and to attempt to confound them, is to do no real service to any rank of the community: and if it would be illiberal and unjust to place any *definite* limit to the acquirements of our mechanics, it is, on the other hand, both dangerous and absurd to attempt to push such acquirements beyond their just and natural level, instead of leaving them to their ordinary progress and natural developement.

Upon a calm review of these combined efforts to give a *scientific* turn to the education of the common people,

I think that there is sufficient ground to put all prudent men upon their guard, though I am by no means prepared to assert that it ought to be regarded with unfriendly or hostile feelings. That such a project may be easily perverted by artful and designing men to the most mischievous purposes is not a sufficient reason for offering it any opposition, but it furnishes good ground for endeavouring to prevent such dangers; and having laid the case fully before my reader, I shall now conclude by shortly stating what appears to be the best and wisest course to pursue.

First, then, as Mr. Brougham and his friends are using all their efforts to give the common people a scientific and philosophical education, it should be the earnest endeavour of those who do not place an *implicit* trust in science or philosophy, to furnish them with the far more powerful restraints of religion and morals. To whatever height the pyramid is carried, we ought to proportion our care and zeal respecting its foundation.

To this end nothing will so much conduce as a steady and judicious support of the national system of education, as it is developed and exhibited in the National Schools. These are schools at which something better and more important than the arts of "reading and writing" are communicated to the children of the poor. It is here they learn their duties towards God and man, a strong attachment to the laws and institutions of their country is early engrafted on their minds. It is here they are taught that knowledge and science are of very secondary value when compared with piety and virtue, "that godliness with contentment is great riches," and that "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom."

It is the peculiar recommendation of these schools that something fixed and definite is taught, and that their system accords with the order of society existing amongst

us. Mr. Brougham and his friends may hint "at the abuses which have crept into the constitution, the errors committed in its administration, and the improvement which a change of circumstances require in its principles," but these are discoveries which we do not seek to impress on our pupils. We inculcate a strong attachment to the constitution, *such as it now is;* we teach them to love and revere our establishments in Church and State, even with all their real or supposed imperfections; and we are far more anxious to make them good and contented citizens, than to fit them for noisy patriots, who would perhaps destroy the constitution whilst pretending to correct it.

In this respect the schools which are connected with the Established Church, present a far more safe and practical system of national education, than any which pretend to lead the individual to the search of future and unknown improvements. And hence it is that the schools of the National Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church are so very different in their aims and objects from those "Elementary Schools" which aspire to teach nothing beyond the abstract powers of reading and writing, and then to remit their pupils to those "Adult Schools" at which they are to become smatterers in science. But to render these schools of the National Society still more powerful and effective in their influence, they should be connected, as far as possible, with the ancient and endowed charities of the country. By such an union they may be rendered far more alluring to the parents, who may be thus led to prefer them on this account, and be willing to keep their children at them for a longer period, from the hope of seeing them afterwards apprenticed by an endowed institution.

Another method of rendering them far more useful and popular is by conjoining them to some establishment of manual industry, such as the cultivation of a garden or the employment of a factory. These plans have been tried with the happiest effect at the Bath National School, and if similar trials were made in other parts of the country they would be attended with the most beneficial result.

A small library of useful and elementary books of a religious and moral description, together with the most popular travels and voyages, should always be connected with these schools, to which the children should be invited to subscribe, and from which they should be at liberty to take books to their homes, and to purchase them at reduced prices.

But, as I have already hinted, circulating libraries of a much larger description should be opened for the general use of working classes in all our large towns and cities; and which should comprise the most plain and popular works in all branches of general knowledge, and also embrace elementary books on trade and arts*. Let the wealthier orders encourage such libraries by becoming honorary members, and by taking an active interest in their formation; and let the books be named by the subscribers, or be chosen by a committee. These are schemes for the improvement of the minds of the labouring orders which I have long wished to see generally adopted, and which are far more safe and practicable than inviting them to listen to discourses from travelling lecturers upon sciences that are beyond their habits of attention, and which, if acquired, could prove of little or no service to

* As a small sample of this kind the author has reprinted at the end of this Pamphlet a list of books which he circulated some years ago, he believes in 1817, but it now requires much enlargement. See Appendix, No. 9.

their happiness. Whatever tends to draw a working man from his home and from the company of his wife and family is most strongly to be deprecated; whatever be his occupations, he should find them, if possible, by his own fire-side. It is on this account that I strongly protest against clubs and reading rooms, against lectures and public institutes, as hostile to those quiet and domestic habits which are of far more real value than any advancement which they can hope to make in abstract science.

To conclude—it is evident that Mr. Brougham and his friends are intent on carrying forward the education of the people on certain principles peculiar to those "who hold the same doctrines" in politics and theology; and it therefore becomes those who do *not* hold the same doctrines, to put themselves into the posture of self-defence. The National Schools for the instruction of the labouring orders in the principles of the Established Church, are the natural bulwarks to which we must look for the permanence of our present institutions, whether civil or ecclesiastical; and it is more than ever requisite that these schools should be encouraged and supported by those who do not desire any great and fundamental alteration in our present system of government. If my observations are correct, these schools may now be said to be *in a state of siege;* they are encompassed on every side by those who are attempting to introduce a different course of popular education. The project of *infant* schools has been chiefly brought forward by men who have always shewn themselves hostile to the National Society; and that Mr. Brougham's "*adult schools*" are altogether supported by the same party is matter of public notoriety. Under these circumstances nothing but a most effective support of the "National System of Education" will enable it eventually to make head against such a powerful op-

position; an opposition which is founded on the most plausible and fascinating theory, but which, if successful, must turn the whole tide of popular education against our present national establishments.

To shew the force and reality of this assertion it is necessary only to turn to the concluding paragraphs of Mr. Brougham's pamphlet, which are devoted to an attempt to subvert the present charitable institutions existing "in every part of the country" for the sake of "making an effort at the present moment to propagate this system." (p. 29.) I know not whether he is addressing the working classes or their employers on this occasion, but I feel certain that this endeavour to withdraw the benevolence of the public from its customary channels to the formation of such dubious and new-fangled institutions, will only create universal indignation. Though "happily, the time is past and gone when bigots could persuade mankind that the lights of philosophy were to be extinguished as dangerous to religion, and when tyrants could proscribe the instructors of the people as enemies to their power," (p. 32.) yet happily the day is *not* arrived when we can be scared by the sneers at "superstition" or "intolerance" from warning the public of its dangers; nor when all the pretences about "genuine philanthropy" and "universal toleration" can prevent our developing the real views and objects of "those who lie in wait to deceive."

To the upper classes of society *I* would say—do every thing in your power to give the labouring orders a religious, virtuous, and *useful* education, by founding this education on the love and the fear of God, and by associating it with a strong attachment to the *existing* institutions of our country. To the working classes *I* would say—be upon your guard against quacks and impostors of all kinds; remember that knowledge is valuable only as it is

connected with an advancement in piety and religion; that sobriety and contentment are far more valuable qualifications than any attainments in mere art or science; and that those who would confine your education *exclusively* to the purposes of the present life are no real friends to your happiness and welfare.

APPENDIX No. I.

SUPPLEMENTAL CATALOGUE

OF THE

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.

Bound in Calf, and lettered.	Price to the *Members.* £.	s.	d.	Price to the *Public.* £.	s.	d.
Bishop Burnet's Abridgment of the History of the Reformation, 2 vols.	0	7	1	0	11	0
Bishop Tomline's Introduction to the Bible.	0	5	8	0	7	6
Bishop Hall's Contemplations on the Old and New Testament, 4 vols.	0	17	10	1	10	0
Gilpin's (Rev. W.) Life of Trueman and Atkins	0	0	9	0	1	3
——— Four last Dialogues.	0	0	9	0	1	3
Walton's (Isaac) Lives, entire	0	3	11	0	7	0
Bingley's (Rev. W.) Elements of Useful Knowledge, 3 vols.	0	19	9	1	5	6
Josephus's (Flavius) Wars of the Jews, 2 vols.	0	7	1	0	11	0
Lessons for Young Persons in humble Life.	0	4	1	0	5	6
Pilgrim Good Intent	0	4	7	0	6	0
Sturm's (Mr. C. C.) Reflections, abridged, (*new edition*)	0	4	3	0	6	0
Wells's (Dr.) Geography of the Old and New Testament, 2 vols. with 17 *Plates* and *Maps*	0	10	8	0	15	0
Trimmer's (Mrs.) Fabulous Histories	0	2	11	0	3	6
Bingley's (Rev. W.) Animal Biography, 4 vols.	1	6	4	1	14	0
History of England, in Letters, 2 vols.	0	8	4	0	11	0
Anson's (Lord) Voyage, *with a Map.*	0	4	4	0	6	6
Gay's Fables, Part I. (*with wood cuts*)	0	2	5	0	3	0
Ditto, selected by the Rev. J. Plumptre	0	3	3	0	4	6
Robinson Crusoe	0	4	8	0	7	0
Book of Trades	0	6	9	0	9	6
Marlborough, Life of John, Duke of, &c. abridged from the Quarterly Review	0	2	2	0	3	6
Nelson, Life of Horatio, Lord Viscount, &c. &c. abridged from Southey	0	3	0	0	4	6
Wellington, Campaigns of Arthur, Duke of, &c. &c. abridged from the Quarterly Review	0	2	9	0	4	0
The Lives of Marlborough, Nelson, and Campaigns of Wellington, together	0	4	9	0	7	0
Wilson and Hildesley, Bishops, Lives of, (*stitched*)	0	0	3½	0	0	6
Natural History of Quadrupeds, Birds and Insects	0	3	8	0	5	0

Bound in Calf, and lettered.	Price to the *Members.* £.	s.	d.	Price to the *Public.* £.	s.	d.
Bingley's (Rev. W.) Celebrated Voyagers.	0	6	2	0	8	6
——— Travellers.	0	6	2	0	8	6
——— Eminent Characters..	0	6	2	0	8	6
Memoirs of William Stevens, Esq. by the Hon. Mr. Justice Park.....	0	2	4	0	4	0
Lives of Sir Matthew Hale and the Rev. Dr. Hammond.....	0	2	6	0	4	0
Maundrell's Journey to Aleppo.....	0	2	4	0	4	0
Abridgment of Bowdler's Collection of Poetry	0	3	1	0	4	6
Rev. T. Young's Essay on Cruelty to Animals, *(half bound.)*.....	0	0	8½	0	1	0
Abridgment of De Foe on the Plague, with Evelyn's Account of the Fire of London..	0	2	8	0	4	6
Loss of the Lady Hobart Packet, Cabalva, Centaur, and Lichfield	0	2	4	0	4	0
Berens's Thirty-three Village Sermons	0	4	8	0	6	0
Harte's Lectures on St. Matthew's Gospel..	0	3	1	0	4	6
*Natural History of Domestic Animals, 18mo.....	0	2	4	0	3	6
*History of Columbus, 18mo.	0	2	4	0	3	6
*——— Prince Lee Boo, 18mo.....	0	2	4	0	3	6
*Natural History of Insects, 18mo..... ..	0	2	4	0	3	6
*——— Birds, 18mo.....	0	2	4	0	3	6
*——— Fishes, 18mo.....	0	2	4	0	3	6
*——— Trees, 18mo.....	0	2	4	0	3	6
*——— Reptiles, 18mo.....	0	2	4	0	3	6
*——— Wonderful Animals, 18mo.....	0	2	4	0	3	6
*——— Remarkable Animals, 18mo.....	0	2	4	0	3	6
*The History of Useful Arts, 18mo.....	0	2	4	0	3	6
*The Cabinet of Useful Arts, 18mo.....	0	2	4	0	3	6
*The Life of Captain Cook, 18mo.....	0	2	4	0	3	6
*The Entertaining Medley, 18mo.....	0	2	4	0	3	6
The National School Miscellany, Nos. 1 to 12, with 40 wood-cuts *(half-bound, in one volume)*.....	0	1	6	0	2	0
Each No. may be had separately at 1*d.* each, or 9*d.* per dozen.						
The National School Magazine, Nos. 1 to 17, with 34 wood-cuts *(half-bound, in one volume)*.....	0	1	6	0	2	0
Each No. may be had separately at 1*d.* each, or 9*d.* per dozen.						
*The New Youth's Magazine, consisting of 10 Nos. *(stitched,)* 4*d.* each, or per dozen	0	3	6	0	4	0

Note. Those Books with * prefixed, may be had, each volume in 10 Numbers, stitched, Members 1*s.* 4*d.* Public 1*s.* 8*d.*

APPENDIX No. II.

A SPECIMEN

OF A LIST OF

USEFUL AND INTERESTING BOOKS,

RESPECTFULLY SUBMITTED TO PUBLIC CONSIDERATION

For the Use of the Working Class of Society *.

HISTORY.

	£.	s.	d.
1. Acts of the Kings and Queens of England, 8vo	0	5	0
2. Goldsmith's History of England, abridged	0	3	6
3. ——— Rome, ditto	0	3	6
4. ——— Greece, ditto	0	3	6
5. Burnet's History of the Reformation, abridged	0	9	6
6. Mavor's Grecian History	0	7	6
7. ——— Roman History, 3 vols	0	13	6
8. ——— Scotland and Ireland	0	4	6
9. ——— Portugal and Spain	0	4	6
10. ——— France	0	4	6
11. ——— Russia and Poland	0	4	6
12. ——— America	0	4	6
13. ——— Germany and Holland	0	9	0
14. Littleton's History of England, in letters	0	9	0
15. Stretch's Beauties of History	0	4	0
16. Dodd's ditto	0	4	0
17. Aikin's England Delineated	0	7	0
18. Trimmer's History of England, 2 vols	0	9	0

NATURAL HISTORY.

1. Goldsmith's Natural History, abridged	0	6	0
2. History of Quadrupeds, 2 vols	0	5	0
3. ——— of Insects	0	3	6
4. ——— of Singing Birds	0	2	6

* The prices here marked are those of the London Catalogue; but if printed for this express purpose, they might be sold on much lower terms.

	£.	s.	d.
5. Mavor's Natural History	0	5	6
6. Bingley's Animated Nature	0	6	6
7. Anecdotes of Birds	0	4	0
8. Huber's Observations on Bees	0	6	6
9. Description of 300 Animals	0	5	0
10. Wakefield's (Priscilla) Instinct Displayed	0	5	6
11. Buffon's Natural History abridged	0	4	0

TRAVELS AND VOYAGES.

1. Anson's Voyages	0	3	0
2. Bruce's Travels, abridged	0	6	0
3. Byron's Voyage round the World	0	6	0
4. Carver's Travels in America	0	7	0
5. Cook's Voyages, abridged	0	9	0
6. Mavor's Abridgment of Moore's and Cox's Travels	0	6	0
7. ——— Account of Cook's Voyages	0	8	0
8. ——— Abridgment of Bourgoing's Spain	0	7	0
9. Wakefield's (Priscilla) Travels in Africa	0	5	6
10. ——— Family Tour through the British Empire	0	5	6
11. ——— Excursions in North America	0	5	6
12. ——— Juvenile Travellers	0	5	6
13. Park's (Mungo) Travels, abridged	0	5	6
14. Portlock's Voyages round the World, abridged	0	6	0
15. Vaillant's Travels in Africa, 2 vols	0	14	0
16. Weld's Travels in America, abridged	0	10	6
17. Dampier's Voyages, 4 vols	0	16	0

BIOGRAPHY.

1. British Plutarch, 3 vols. 12mo	1	0	0
2. Burnet's Life of Rochester	0	2	6
3. ——— Sir Matthew Hale	0	2	6
4. Hodgson's Life of Porteus	0	7	0
5. Mavor's Plutarch, abridged	0	5	0
6. Pugh's Life of Hanway, abridged	0	2	6
7. Aikin's Life of Howard	0	4	6
8. Walton's Lives, 2 vols. 12mo	0	10	0
9. Watkins's Biographical Dictionary	0	18	0
10. Lempriere's Universal Biography	0	16	0
11. Fox's Lives of the Martyrs	0	15	0
12. Gilpin's Lives of the Reformers, 3 vols.	0	18	0
13. Anderson's Life of Johnson	0	5	0
14. Anecdotes of Eminent Persons, 2 vols.	0	14	0
15. Bower's Life of Beattie	0	5	0
16. ——— Life of Luther	0	12	0
17. Johnson's Lives of the Poets, abridged	0	4	0
18. Ledyard's Life of Marlborough, 2 vols	0	10	6
19. Noble's Lives of the Regicides, 2 vols	0	12	0
20. Southey's Life of Nelson, 2 vols	0	15	0
21. Account of the Life of Mrs. Trimmer	0	18	0
22. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, 4 vols.	1	0	0

	£.	s.	d.
23. Juvenile Plutarch, Lives of Eminent Children	0	5	0
24. Mavor's British Nepos	0	4	6
25. Naval Anecdotes of British Seamen	0	10	6
26. Elliot's Life of Wellington	0	14	0
27. Burney's Lives and Actions of British Naval Heroes	0	7	0
28. ——— British Neptune, or History of Naval Achievements	0	7	6

TRADE AND AGRICULTURE.

1. Art of Dying Wool, Silks, Cottons, &c.	0	6	0
2. Art of Tanning and Currying Leather	0	3	0
3. Art of Bookbinding	0	7	0
4. Art of Ringing	0	7	0
5. Book of Trades, 3 vols. 12mo.	0	10	6
6. Complete Grazier.	0	12	0
7. Complete Florist	0	14	0
8. Stower's Art of Printing	0	3	0
9. Tradesman's Dictionary, 18mo.	0	9	0
10. Tusser's 500 Points of Good Agriculture	0	4	0
11. Abercrombie's Gardener's Dictionary	0	10	6
12. ——— Calendar	0	4	6
13. Imison's School of Arts	1	0	0
14. Art of Angling, by Best	0	2	6
15. Taplin's Farriery	0	2	0
16. Crosby's Builder's Price-Book	0	4	0
17. Clater's Farrier	0	9	0
18. ——— Cattle Doctor	0	10	6
19. Mortimer's Grammar of Trade	0	3	6
20. Agricultural Survey of each Country			
21. Tomson's Universal Calculator	0	2	6
22. Young's Farmer's Letters, 2 vols	0	10	0
23. ——— ——— Guide, 2 vols	0	10	0
24. ——— ——— Calendar	0	12	0
25. ——— Rural Economy	0	5	0
26. Valuable Hints in Arts and Trade	0	4	0

POETRY.

1. Gay's Fables.	0	2	6
2. Goldsmith's Poems	0	3	6
3. More's (Hannah) Sacred Dramas	0	6	0
4. Thomson's Seasons	0	2	6
5. Young's Night Thoughts, 18mo	0	3	6
6. Milton's Paradise Lost and Regained.	0	3	6
7. Elegant Extracts in Verse, abridged	0	4	6
8. Armstrong's Art of Preserving Health	0	2	6
9. Bee, a Selection of Poems	0	2	0
10. Crabbe's Poems	0	10	6
11. Bloomfield's Farmer's Boy	0	4	6
12. Beauties of English Poetry, by Melmoth	0	5	0
13. Quarle's Emblems	0	6	6
14. Ancient Ballads from Percy's Collection	0	4	6

	£.	s.	d.
15. Cowper's Poems, 2 vols	0	9	0
16. Moore's Fables for the Female Sex	0	4	0
17. Merrick's Translation of the Psalms	0	3	0
18. Watts's Hymns for Children	0	4	0
19. Cotton's Visions	0	2	6
20. Beauties of Ancient Poetry	0	2	6
21. Hogg's Shepherd's Guide	0	7	6

TALES, FABLES, &c.

1. Esop's Fables	0	10	0
2. Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield	0	3	6
3. Johnson's Rasselas	0	2	6
4. Hawkesworth's Telemachus, 2 vols	0	7	0
5. Family Robinson Crusoe	0	8	0
6. Robinson Crusoe, abridged	0	4	6
7. New Robinson Crusoe	0	4	0
8. Sandford and Merton, abridged	0	4	0
9. Berquin's Select Stories for Children	0	3	6
10. ——— Friend of Youth, 2 vols	0	6	0
11. ——— Children's Friend, 4 vols	0	14	0
12. ——— Family Book, or Children's Journal	0	4	0
13. Trimmer's Fabulous Histories	0	2	6
14. ——— Family Magazine, 3 vols	0	10	6
15. ——— Instructive Tales, from ditto	0	4	0
16. Dorset's Peacock at Home	0	5	0
17. Tales to excite Pity to Dumb Animals	0	3	0
18. Dodsley's Fables	0	3	6
19. Youth's Miscellany; Tales, Essays, &c	0	3	6
20. Entertaining Instructions	0	3	0

MISCELLANEOUS SELECTIONS, &c.

1. Spectator, 2. Tatler, 3. Guardian, 4. Adventurer, &c.	Selections from	0	10	6
5. Female Speaker, a Selection		0	5	0
6. Beauties of English Prose, by Melmoth		0	5	0
7. Beauties of the Rambler and Adventurer		0	7	0
8. ——— Spectator, Tatler, and Guardian		0	6	0
9. Dodsley's Economy of Human Life		0	2	6
10. Gregory's Legacy to his Daughters		0	4	0
11. Paley's Hints to Youth		0	2	0
12. ——— Duty of Contentment		0	2	0
13. Pleasing Instructor		0	4	0
14. Looking-Glass for the Mind		0	3	6
15. Walton's Angler		0	15	0
16. Collection of Epitaphs		0	5	0
17. Guide to Domestic Happiness		0	5	0
18. Collection of Enigmas, Charades, &c		0	4	0
19. Aikin's Art of Life		0	2	6
20. Juvenile Preceptor		0	9	0

	£.	s.	d.
21. Evenings at Home, 6 vols.	0	10	6
22. Hanway's Virtue in Humble Life	1	0	0
23. Ambulator, or Pocket Companion round London	0	7	0
24. Curiosities of London and Westminster	0	4	0
25. Mavor's Circle of the Sciences	0	4	6
26. Audley's Companion to the Almanack	0	4	6
27. Guthrie's Geography, abridged	0	4	0
28. Walker's Gazetteer	0	13	6
29. Wakefield's (Priscilla) Mental Improvement	0	5	6
30. ——— Leisure Hours	0	2	6
31. Cheap Repository Tracts, 3 vols. each	0	4	6
32. Progress of Pilgrim Good Intent	0	6	0
33. Friendly Instructor	0	1	6
34. Friendly Monitor on the Fear of Ghosts	0	2	0
35. Friend to Youth, or Advice on Trades	0	6	0
36. Lessons for Young Persons in Humble Life	0	3	6
37. A Friendly Gift to Servants and Apprentices	0	0	9
38. Wakefield's (Priscilla) Variety of Anecdotes	0	4	0
39. ——— Perambulations in London	0	7	0
40. ——— Domestic Recreations, 2 vols.	0	5	0
41. Trimmer's Introduction to the Knowledge of Nature	0	2	0
42. Reports of the Society for bettering the Condition of the Poor, 5 vols. 12mo	0	10	0

N.B. The preceding List of Books is drawn up merely to awaken public attention, and excite public curiosity, on this subject. The Compiler is too well aware of his inability, to suppose that his List is by any means unexceptionable, or that many other works of greater excellence may not be added to the same. But he was anxious to show that his attempt was neither visionary nor dangerous; and he now leaves it to those more capable than himself to improve upon these rude suggestions for compiling a Catalogue of such Works as may be safely recommended to the attention of the working orders of society.

☞ The force and economy of Circulating Libraries, as channels of National Instruction and Amusement, have not been sufficiently considered:—1*st*. A tract or book which is *given* away is almost instantly destroyed: if placed in such a library it would last for several years, until it was fairly worn out.—2*nd*. A tract which is *given* away, is given to an *individual*, and seldom goes out of a *single family*; but when such a tract is in a cheap circulating library, it is given to the *public*, and it may be read by *multitudes*. Hence it will appear, that a single copy of any book, when placed in such a library, may be read by a greater number of individuals than a hundred copies *given* away in the usual manner of tract societies.

THE END.

Printed by R. Gilbert, St. John's Square, London.

Published by the same Author.

1. THE CONNECTION of NATURAL and REVEALED THEOLOGY, being an Attempt to illustrate the Evidences and Doctrines of Christianity by their Relation to the Inductive Philosophy of the Human Mind. 12*s*. 1818.

2. SERMONS on the PARABLES and MIRACLES of JESUS CHRIST. 10*s*. 1819.

3. VINDICIÆ ANALOGICÆ. A Letter to the Rev. EDWARD COPLESTON, D.D. Part I. 2*s*. 6*d*. 1822.

4. VINDICIÆ ANALOGICÆ. Being a Reply to the Third Section of the Rev. DR. COPLESTON'S "Remarks on the Objections made to certain Passages in the Inquiry concerning Necessity and Predestination." To which is added, an Appendix, containing the Opinions of some Eminent Writers on Analogy, &c. Part II. 3*s*.

5. The CRISIS of RELIGION, a Sermon, preached at Laura Chapel, Bathwick, Nov. 17, 1811; containing Strictures on Mr. Lancaster's System of Popular Education. 1*s*. Second Edition, 1811.

6. An ADDRESS to PROTESTANTS, on the Necessity of securing the Advantages, by maintaining the Spirit of the Reformation. 1*s*. 1813.

7. REFLECTIONS on the INFLUENCE of INFIDELITY and PROFANENESS on PUBLIC LIBERTY; to which is subjoined an Appendix, containing a Plan for the formation of Cheap Circulating Libraries amongst the Lower Orders of Society. 1*s*. Second Edition. 1817.

8. The BULWARKS of the ENGLISH CHURCH, a Discourse, preached before the Bath District Association of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 8vo. 1*s*. 6*d*. 1820.

9. CURSORY REFLECTIONS on the PHYSIOLOGICAL LECTURES of MR. LAWRENCE. 2*s*. Second Edition. 1819.

10. PLAIN THOUGHTS on MR. BROUGHAM'S EDUCATION-BILL. By a Plain Englishman. 1*s*. Second Edition. 1821.

11. The RESEARCHES of PHYSIOLOGY, illustrative of the Christian Doctrine of the Resurrection. 1*s*. 6*d*. 1820.

12. The DOCTRINAL HARMONY of the NEW TESTAMENT. 4*s*. 6*d*. 1824.

13. The ORIGIN of FRAUDS DETECTED; or a BRIEF COMMENTARY on PALEY'S EXPOSITION of the LAW of HONOUR. 1*s*. 1824.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF A SCIENTIFIC EDUCATION TO THE Working Classes of this Country POINTED OUT; AND THE THEORIES OF MR. BROUGHAM ON THAT SUBJECT CONFUTED; IN A LETTER TO THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWN.

BY

A COUNTRY GENTLEMAN.

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A

LETTER,

&c.

My Lord,

The importance of the question which is now agitating half the kingdom, namely, how far a scientific education to the working classes of the community will extend the happiness of the individual, or contribute to the welfare of the nation, must be my apology for trespassing on your notice.

I address myself to your lordship, because the public prints have enrolled your name amongst the Votaries of the Operatives; a name, from your lordship's rank in society and character as a statesman, that is calculated to give what was conceived to be, before your lordship countenanced it, nothing but an absurd and visionary scheme, —an importance which it ill deserves.

Your lordship, therefore, has much to answer for, if it should be productive of misery to your country; for which reason your lordship will the

more readily listen to a dry argument on the subject. On your lordship individually I have not the shadow of a claim, for I have not even the honor of your lordship's acquaintance; as a Party-man I have still less, for I hate Party. We have, however, I take it for granted, one object in common, and that is, our country's good. This it is which has been my object in writing the following pages—Pray, my lord, make it your excuse for reading them.

The first and most important question I take to be this: Are the people of this country satisfied with the sort of government they live under, or do they wish for another? I do not by this question mean to ask whether they are desirous of such a partial change as the alteration of times or circumstances may call for, or a stricter attention to our eventual interests may demand; but if they will consent to such an extensive change as shall alter the character of the Nation and the style of the Government.

Presuming I shall be answered by nine-tenths, nay, by ninety-nine hundredths of the community, amongst whom I may venture, I trust, to place your lordship, that they are unwilling to make any such change, I proceed to ask whether these institutions will produce such a change, and if they will, by what means? In doing this it is necessary to give a faint sketch of the Being to whom this style of education is vouchsafed; To inquire

what is the character of the government under which he lives; and what situation he fills in that society, or government, of which he is a member?

In reply to these queries, I affirm,—the Being is Man;—the character of our government is what is called a limited Monarchy;—and, lastly, the persons alluded to belong to a description of persons called the working Classes of society.

As a Man, he is to be considered in three distinct states:—in his state of nature; that is, when he is subject to no control whatever:—in his religious state; that is, as a disciple of Christ:—in his social state; that is, as a member of society. In his state of nature he is as a beast of the field, uncontrolled, thinking only of himself, and believing himself at full liberty to gratify any desire to which his inclination or passion prompts him.—In his religious state he must conform to the precepts of Christ, overcoming those inclinations and passions incidental to the natural state.—In his social state he must restrict his natural desires, if they are at variance with the contract he has entered into, and he must make his religious notions so far conform to the government he is a member of, that in practice they shall not be inimical to its laws or regulations. It follows that the religious and social states vary very considerably from the natural state, which regards objects only as they affect the senses; while the others regard the consequences, that is, as they affect either a future state of

rewards and punishments, to which men look forward, or the well-being of the government they live under. Self-gratification is the characteristic sign of one, self-denial of the other two. Self-gratification generally preponderates, and consequently the frailty of mankind is but too obvious.

Having thus, my lord, methodically analysed the different states of Man, the next step is, to inquire whether there be any thing in that limited monarchy under which we live, that should make any alteration in the question? I think there is; and to prove it, I shall beg your lordship's attention to what I may call an outline of such a government. From one hereditary chief magistrate it proceeds, by gentle and scarcely perceptible gradations, to the great bulk of the people, which compose, if I may so say, the base of the constitution. It may be likened in fact to a Pyramid, which is the most lasting of all buildings, in much the same manner as a limited monarchy is the most durable of all governments. From an extended base, its superstructure is raised, gradually getting smaller and smaller till it reaches a point; one part not being too heavy or too light for another; the part below feeling not the weight of that above it; a correct proportion appearing throughout, and combining as a whole one mass of beauty and of strength. M. de Calonne says, that no where else in the world does such harmony subsist between the several ranks of citi-

zens as in England; and a celebrated historian,* in commenting on the passage, calls "this harmony the firm foundation on which the proud superstructure of the British constitution rests. Ranks vary as much, or perhaps more, than elsewhere; but no one rank has that gigantic pre-eminence which can enable it to trample on its next inferior. In the scale of subordination the distance from top to bottom is great, but the gradation is scarcely perceptible, and the connexion intimate. Each rank, moreover, is interested in the support of the next superior; none are excluded from the hope of rising;† and of all the various ranks, the highest is most interested in the support of the whole." What can bear a more correct resemblance to a pyramid? At all events, a pyramid, nearer than any other figure, may be said to represent a limited monarchy, in the same way that a space, inclosed by four equal lines at right angles with each other, is called a square.

Presuming this to be admitted, we come now to the consideration of what place in society do those persons, called the working classes, fill? The answer is clear. They occupy that important

* Mitford.

† This is no such blunder as it may at first sight appear: the simile halts a little, but it is a mere trifle. In the change which takes place in society one rises and another falls; the character of the country remains unchanged, as one may suppose in a pyramid of cannon-balls one removed for another, whereby the figure is not destroyed nor its durability endangered.

part in the pyramid which is called the base, and on which the superstructure rests.

We have thus seen that Man is a most imperfect being, swayed by inclination or passion, and that the constitution of the country is like a pyramid, of which figure the working classes form the base.

Of the frailty of Man there appears to my poor abilities to be no stronger evidence than the formation of government itself, which is but the lesser of two evils; that is to say, mankind chose to subject themselves to laws and to punishments, rather than avail themselves of their natural liberty, which produced endless confusion. To preserve social, when they gave up natural liberty, they formed themselves into commonwealths, and became subject to a system of government; and the more impartial that system is, by which I mean the less it presses on any one class, to the benefit of some, or the exclusion of others, the longer is the constitution likely to last, and the greater happiness is it likely to convey.

The constitution we enjoy is the result of such a system, where a certain portion of the community is empowered to make and rescind laws for the benefit of the whole, to which every other desire, however praiseworthy, must yield. Nay, though a concession shall appear in strict accordance with some religious injunction, it is but the duty of those in authority to resist it, if it threatens in any manner the public good. Of this kind is mercy,

which is strictly enjoined in our religion, and always gratifying to the individual bestowing it; yet those in authority are, in virtue of their office, obliged to resist the amiable propensity, and frequently to strike the offender for the benefit of the community. And, besides these laws, there is a tacit consent implied in both the governors and the governed, that we shall have only one object in view, which is our country's good, and not only do nothing calculated to disturb or destroy the government under which we live, but do every thing, even sacrifice our life, to promote its peace and stability. An illustration of this occurs in the soldier, whom no law compels to fight, but who is nevertheless under an implied obligation to do so; and as in our religious state we are told, if there be any other commandment necessary for our salvation, besides those which had been previously enjoined, it is comprehended in this saying, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, for love is the fulfilling of the law;" so, in our social state, we ought, besides a strict observance of human ordinances, to love our country as ourselves, which is the meaning of true patriotism, or in the words of scripture, is the fulfilling of the law.

Content, therefore, ought to be the end of a wise government, because it insures, as far as mortal means can insure, obedience to the laws, and cherishes more than any thing else, (by making our country dear to us,) that patriotic spirit which

may be called the soul of the constitution; the bringing which, as nearly as they could, to perfection, seems to have been the great object of our ancestors.

Allow me, however, my lord, before we proceed, to remark, that it was possibly to aid mankind in forming themselves into governments, that Providence did not place out of the reach of their understanding some idea of his own wonderful works, which would teach them that a regular coherence and gradual subordination was best calculated to promote the end which his bounty had in view, namely, the happiness of mankind and the durability of the world.

> "Such is the world's great harmony, that springs
> From order, union, full consent of things,
> Where small and great, where weak and mighty made
> To serve, not suffer—strengthen, not invade."*

* Another instance of the regular coherence and gradual subordination, in every region of animated nature, Pope gives us in the following beautiful description:

> "Vast chain of being, which from God began!
> Nature's ethereal, human, angel, man,
> Beast, bird, fish, insect,—what no eye can see,
> No glass can reach—from infinite to Thee,
> From Thee to nothing—on superior powers
> Were we to press, inferior might on ours;
> Or in the full creation leave a void,
> Where, one step broken, the great scale's destroyed;
> From nature's chain whatever link you strike,
> Tenth or ten thousandth, breaks the chain alike."

If we compare human systems with this universal order of things, we shall find the character of a limited monarchy approaches nearer to it than any other form of government, where the gradation of rank from the King to the lowest subject is scarcely perceptible, so nicely are distinctions balanced, each enjoying some peculiar qualifications suitable to its place and state; to preserve which, our ancestors, profiting by this example, and by the example of nations which had gone before them, from whose errors they had taken warning, and ever bearing in mind the imperfections of our nature, and the paramount importance of content, wisely confined the superior sort of education to birth and wealth, which composed for the most part the highest distinctions; because, where either one or the other was clearly superior, education or talents would be less invidious, and less likely, therefore, by producing any discontent, to disturb the well-being of the state.

The present proposal is to endow institutions for the intellectual improvement of the working classes, who form the lowest grade in society.

The conclusion therefore is, either that our ancestors were wrong, or that some change has taken place in society which has rendered such an innovation necessary to the welfare of the state.

To prove this not to be the case shall be my object.

Our ancestors argued, as I before said, on

the imperfection of human nature, and therefore never extended to all the classes of society an equal education; because they calculated it would create a spirit of discontent, by exciting envy, which was very incompatible with the well-being of the government. That they were right there can be little doubt. Increase man's knowledge, and you increase his desires;* increase his desires, and you increase his temptations; increase his temptations, and you increase the necessity of self-denial. But, as we have already seen that self-gratification in man usually triumphs over self-denial, it follows, that the increase of knowledge to man is attended with great danger at least;† and if with great danger to mankind generally, how much greater is it in a government, where distinction in society, and subordination to superiors, constitute its peculiar character, and have been hitherto found to constitute its peculiar happiness; and, if danger should ensue, there would then at once appear sufficient reason for objection.

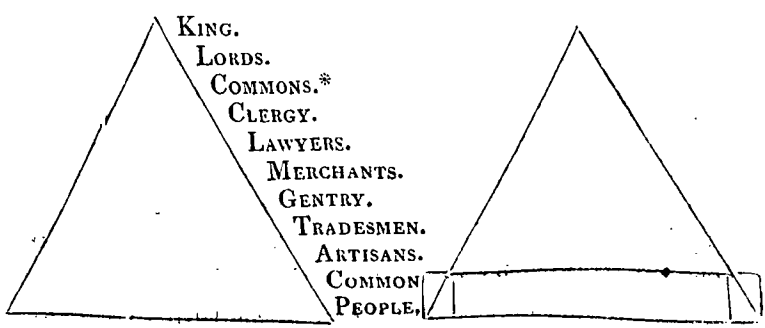
Again, supposing the subjoined drawing to be

* Shakspeare thus makes our desires, when they are carried beyond a certain length, our tormentors; and who shall say, when they are once excited, "Thus far you shall go, and no further." The expression alluded to is in "Twelfth Night."

"That instant was I turned into a hart,
And my desires, like fell and cruel hounds,
E'er since pursue me."

† "For in much wisdom is much grief, and he that increaseth knowledge, increaseth sorrow." *Eccles.* chap. i. v. 18.

a sketch of the constitution, and that the lower class, or base, were put on a level with the one immediately above it, what is the consequence? Is not the figure destroyed, and its durability endangered? And if destroyed, is not the constitution, of which it is the resemblance, destroyed too? And must not this be the case when a superior education is extended to the lower classes? I know I may be told that the figure will remain perfect; that intellect will be no criterion of gradation; and that, supposing one class to be as well educated as that immediately above it, still the scale in rank will not be destroyed, because the people, as they are better educated, will learn better how to maintain their station. But this is arguing on the perfection of human nature, which is contrary to my hypothesis, and therefore I conclude that our ancestors only acted wisely in deciding as they have done.



* By "Commons," are here meant not exclusively the House of Commons, but that class of society from which the members of the lower house are usually selected.

The next question is, if any change has taken place in society to render such a measure expedient? I answer, that great changes have taken place in society. Wealth has increased in an extraordinary manner, and so has commerce. Distinctions have been scarcely on that account so much observed. But, so far from rendering such a measure more expedient, this has rendered its adoption considerably more alarming; because, though in its sides or middle some difference may take place, still, so long as the base remains untouched, its durability will be but triflingly affected; whereas, if you clip or extend the sides, and alter the base, you change the figure; and, if you change the figure, you change the constitution.

Another alteration I may be told has taken place, and that is, that we have acquired of late a more humane feeling for the benefit of our fellow-creatures; and as this is enjoined in our religion, the country cannot suffer in so laudable a pursuit. Our religion is pointed out in the Bible: it must therefore be shewn, first, that the Bible recommends such an education to all classes, and secondly, it must be ascertained whether it will interfere with our government. The Bible no where directs any such thing: there is no necessity therefore for coming to the second question; but even if it did, the injunction should yield, as I have before said, to the welfare* of the state;

* See Chief Justice Abbot *v.* Carlisle.

and the welfare of the state consists in preserving its present character, which is the character of gradual subordination and permanent durability.*

I know of no other alterations that have taken place of any importance; but even supposing

* I have also the authority of a heathen, I admit, but no less a person than Cicero, that even a speculative knowledge of the true God, the author of all things, ought to yield to one's country's good. Not that I am learned enough to be able to quote his words: my learning is derived from a more humble source. Middleton, in his Life of Cicero, after noticing the principles of his religion, built, as he says, on the foundation of a God, a Providence, an Immortality, adds, "the reader will readily imagine what Cicero's opinion must have been concerning the religion of his country; for a mind enlightened by the noble principles just stated, could not possibly harbour a thought of the truth or divinity of so absurd a worship; and the liberty which not only he, but all the old writers, take in ridiculing the characters of their gods, and the fictions of their infernal torments, shews that there was not a man of liberal education who did not consider it as an engine of state, or political system, contrived for the uses of government, and to keep the people in order. In this light Cicero always commends it as a wise institution, singularly adapted to the genius of Rome, and constantly inculcates an adherence to its rites, as the duty of all good citizens." Vol. ii. p. 343.

By this extract we may perceive that Cicero had none of that specious humanity and hollow cant which marks more modern times; that, though well persuaded of the truth of his own religion, and disgusted with that of the Roman people, he took no pains to shew them their error, feeling confident, that the just and merciful God whom he acknowledged, who "tempers the wind to the shorn lamb," would not make the ignorance of the Roman people the engine of his wrath.—For another opinion to the same effect, see *Polybius*.

there had, still the necessary result of the measure proposed must be to alter the character of the constitution. Let it be looked at in whatever light it may, a great and important change must ensue. If I am told, the character of the government will remain, but that, instead of wealth and rank making, as they now do, the distinctions and gradations in society, those distinctions and gradations will be estimated by intellectual qualifications;—a most extraordinary alteration takes place, which I began by presuming was at variance with the wishes of the people. But suppose even that it were in accordance with the wishes of the people, it can only be effected according to law. Or I may be told, that this instruction of the working classes will only urge on the middle and upper classes in the high road of knowledge. But, if the working classes are to be taught the sciences, what are the middle and higher classes to learn, to preserve the due proportion? The answer is obvious enough. There is nothing they can be taught, by which they can maintain their superiority, or

"Men would be angels—angels would be Gods."

Conclusive as this must appear to the commonest understanding, it will still perhaps be urged, that these institutions, of which I complain, are the very means by which the misfortunes I apprehend are to be evaded; that the distinctions and gradations in society are to remain as they now are; that instead of these learned mechanics feeling

any envy towards their titled superiors or the landed proprietors, they will feel nothing but gratitude towards them for the means by which they have acquired their knowledge; that instead of disturbing the present order of things, they will be its greatest stay and support, administering their advice gratuitously, and content to pursue those humble trades they have been bred up in, though their acquirements shall be far greater than those of their employers. But this is again arguing on the perfection, instead of imperfection, of human nature, and so far from the inference being correct, there can be no doubt, that, equally taught, the lower classes will equally contend for superiority, and consequently all subordination, the very key-stone of the government, and character of the country, must be dissolved.

It may be said, that I shall be judged by my own words; that I have already stated, that wealth and commerce have changed the figure; that by acknowledging this, I have admitted the benefits of wealth and commerce, though they did change the figure, since no one can entertain a doubt of our present prosperous state. Why not then extend education to the working classes, though it should change such a figure likewise? My reply is, that it is not necessary on this occasion to enter on the subject of our present prosperity. —All is not gold that glitters; or, supposing it was,

"It is the sunny day brings forth the adder."

Suffice it to say, that though I certainly have admitted that wealth and commerce have partially changed the character of the figure, I have *not* admitted that thereby its durability will be *as* secure. The changes that wealth and commerce have made are however merely excrescences on its side, which do not very materially affect the edifice; a scientific education to the working classes of society would derange the base. This constitutes the danger; for any alteration there, will level the superstructure with the dust. But, why not, say they, let education, wealth, and commerce, answering the demands of the expanding base, extend the sides to meet it? Because the figure then would no longer be a pyramid, which is the symbol of a monarchy; but would approach nearer to a square, which is the symbol of a democracy; or at any rate, the style of our government would be materially altered, which is against my premises.

Another possible objection occurs to me. It may be said, that if I argue on the weakness of human nature, my argument either goes too far, or it is worth nothing; for it holds good equally against all education. It is true, the benefit of any education may be doubted. But that is not the point now at issue. Supposing education to be a *proper* desire in the natural state of man, in his social state it may be denied; because from the peculiar character of the government, of which he is a member, it may, like many other desires, be inimical to it, and therefore, as the social state supersedes the

natural state, as general good supersedes individual good, so must education or any other desire be resisted, if it interferes with the government of which the individual is a member. But it is very equivocal whether education is a *proper* desire or not; therefore, if, as a proper desire, it may be resisted in the social state, *à fortiori,* it may be denied when education is considered as a questionable good.

I have thus, my lord, attempted to shew, not only that these institutions will alter the character of the government, but by what means they will do so; that our ancestors decided rightly therefore in confining education to particular classes in the state, that they

> " Taught pow'r's due use to people and to kings—
> Taught nor to slack nor strain its tender strings:
> The less or greater, set so justly true,
> That touching one, must strike the other too;"

that is, that any great alteration in any part will endanger the existence of the whole. I have attempted likewise to make out, that no alteration has occurred in society, which can justify the proposed measure; and, though it is far from my intention to assert, that every position I have laid down can be justified, nor indeed is it to be expected in a pamphlet of this kind, I flatter myself I have said enough to promote inquiry, to make some hesitate, and deter others. Truth is said to lie at the bottom of a well, not on the surface: in

other words, whatever appears only superficially right, is probably wrong.* On the chief point I have great authorities on my side. As human desires increase, human crimes increase. A celebrated divine says, "To abridge our wants as much as possible, not to increase them, is the truest happiness," and to learn to be contented in that situation of life in which you are placed, the best education.† Dr. Warburton, in his Commentary on Pope's Essay on Man, says, it was the poet's object to shew that the very things we blame contribute to our happiness, either as unrelated particulars, or at least, as parts of the universal system; that our state of ignorance was allotted to us out of compassion; that we have as much knowledge as is sufficient to show us that we are, or may be, as blest as we can bear; that the abuse of free-will, from whence proceeds all moral evil, is the certain effect of our existence; that our pride and impatience are the unavoidable result; that hence arise a depraved appetite for visionary advantages, which, if man had, they

* To gratify our passions seems at first sight to be right; for why, it may be said, may we not do as we like, if we are willing to incur the punishment? The answer is—because we do not live for ourselves. In like manner the earth appears stationary, yet it moves with astonishing rapidity. The sun appears to move, to have a flat surface, and to be about a yard in diameter, yet it is stationary, is spherical, and is many, many times larger than our globe.

† Gilpin. St. Paul, 1 Tim. chap. vi. verses 6 and 8.

would be either useless or pernicious to him, as repugnant to his state, or unsuitable to his condition.

Such, my lord, was the opinion of one of the most celebrated of our poets. Such was the opinion, no doubt, of many other illustrious authors that may occur to your lordship, but whom my want of acquaintance with, precludes me from alluding to. For a contrary opinion I have sought in vain, with the exception of an article in the Edinburgh Review, and Mr. Brougham's pamphlet, which he calls "Practical Observations upon the Education of the People,"* both which, singularly enough, contain the same ideas and words; but this in comparison with our immortal poet, is as "chaff before the wind." Instead of being, as he calls it, "Practical Observations," his book appears to my humble understanding to be (the learned gentleman will, I hope, forgive me), any thing but practical; nay, it is, on the contrary, one tissue of *theoretical* absurdities. It is surely im-

* In the Edinburgh Review, No. LXXXI., art. 5. The subject of the critique, is "Hints to Philanthropists, or a Collective View of Practical Means of Improving the Condition of the Poor and Labouring Classes of Society, by William Davis;" but from page 96 to 123, of the said Review, there is not so much as one allusion to the work of the said William Davis, but on the contrary, it is nearly a literal copy of Mr. Brougham's "Practical Observations on the Education of the People, addressed," not to the employers of the working classes, and the working classes, but "to the working classes and their employers!"

possible that any one can deny, that it is, in proportion to the magnitude of the subject, the most inconclusive rhapsody that ever was written. Whatever might have been my previous opinion, this pamphlet determined me to appeal to your lordship, for it convinced me of one of two things; either that this was all that could be said in favor of a scientific education to the working-classes, (for to that I shall confine myself,) even from the acknowledged talents of the learned gentleman; or that great learning, and, I was going to say, almost universal scientific knowledge, were very ill calculated to make a nation happy.

Whatever Mr. Brougham may do, I am unwilling to rest any part of my case on bare assertion. I have already alluded to the feebleness of his reasoning, which it shall now be my endeavour to prove. "Any meddling on the part of Government with it," (that is, with "adult schools," where the sciences are to be taught to the working classes), says the learned gentleman, in his Preface, "would be perilous to civil and religious liberty." If the government of the country are to have no power over it, who are? "It belongs," says the learned gentleman, "to the country at large." Then, my lord, it is either to be without a government, or it is to be governed by THE PEOPLE (for so I suppose Mr. Brougham means) "at large." If without a government, where is responsibility to rest? What example can the learned gentleman produce of

such an institution succeeding? It is a body without a head! If it is to be governed by the people at large, it is a species of democracy incompatible with the government under which we live! Or supposing it even governed by self-elected persons, or by persons selected by the people at large, and independent of the government, it is establishing "*imperium in imperio*," and in the absence of all responsibility must necessarily be, from the infirmity of our natures, sooner liable to the greatest abuse, against which it is the part of a wise statesman to provide.

Nor is the Preface a solitary instance of the shortsightedness of the learned gentleman; it is but a type of the thirty pages and upwards, which it introduces to our notice, throughout which, with a tact, which he knows the value of, but which can only blind the most superficial observer, he assumes in a dogmatical manner, that one would hardly expect from so much perfection, (perfection being, according to the learned gentleman himself, only the result of so much learning), those facts to be already proved and universally admitted, which he is aware he is unable to demonstrate. Specimens of this kind are to be found in the first page, where he says, that the enjoyment of education, "beside the present amusement, is the surest way both to raise our character and better our condition," and thus, "cannot fail to spread more widely the love of learning,

and the disrelish for sensual and vulgar gratifications:"—not a word of which is proved, and which a knowledge of human nature—a fair comparison between the learned and the unlearned, that is, the rich and the poor, of the present day, renders very equivocal, if it does not absolutely falsify.*

In page 4, the learned gentleman says, "one can hardly conceive a greater benefit than those would confer, who should make a judicious selection from our best authors upon ethics, politics, and history." Your lordship cannot fail to observe how wretchedly incomplete is this plan. "A judicious selection," says the learned gentleman. But who is to be the judge, whether the selection is judicious or not? Are the people themselves? God forbid! Your lordship will observe, "politics" are introduced. Acknowledging then, that the learned gentleman has the greatest talents, is he wise enough to say, what is a "judicious selection of POLITICS?" If not, how much less capable are the infatuated working classes of the realm to say who are right and who are wrong? Yet, says the learned gentleman, in the true spirit of dogma-

* The upper classes of society pamper their appetites every day, and allay their thirst with repeated libations of wine, which from habit makes no difference in their outward behaviour. The labourer, on the contrary, is only guilty of great excess on a Saturday night, when he perhaps gets gloriously drunk; but that would not have been the case, if he had indulged equally every night; habit would then have made him *perfect*. The same argument applies with equal truth to other vices.

tism, " that the doctrine of political economy may safely be disseminated in this shape, no man now-a-days will be hardy enough to deny."

In the next page we are able to collect something like an object for introducing politics among the working classes. " Every topic," says he, " of politics, party as well as general, may be treated of in cheap publications. It is highly useful to the community, that the true principles of the constitution, ecclesiastical and civil, should be well understood by every man who lives under it. The great interests of civil and religious liberty are mightily promoted by such wholesome instruction, but the good order of society gains to the full as much by it. The peace of the country, and the stability of the government, could not be more effectually secured than by the universal diffusion of this kind of knowledge. The abuses which, through time, have crept into the *practice* of the constitution; the errors committed in its administration; and the improvements which a change of circumstances require even in its principles; may most fitly be expounded in the same manner. And, if any man or set of men deny the existence of such abuses, see no error in the conduct of those who administer the government, and regard all innovation upon its principles as pernicious, they may propagate their doctrines through the like channels;" that is to say, they may, by carrying the rage of party spirit among the work-

ing classes, promote the good order of society, "the peace of the country, and the stability of the government."

If this is the upshot of the learned gentleman's talents, God grant that I may remain in my present ignorance all my life. Oh, Party spirit, how fascinating must be thy power, that can, in defiance of thy relentless and desolating history, in ancient as well as in modern times, warp the intellect of such a man as Mr. Brougham, and induce him, who cannot be unacquainted with the mad career thou hast run, to initiate the members of humble life into such infernal mysteries!

By this quotation is proved what I am at least happy to prove, namely, the intentions of the learned gentleman, which do him the greatest credit, being no less than to secure the good order of society, the peace of the country, and the stability of the government—to promote which, in the infinitude of his wisdom, he would recommend among the working classes of this country *a paper war!*

Willingly would I rest my case here, and ask your lordship, what can more clearly prove the sad weakness of our nature than to observe, that a gentleman so highly gifted, with such laudable motives, should thus run headlong into such wild vagaries, such incomprehensible absurdities, as to sow the seeds of discontent, the rancour of party, and the madness of politics, not among the rich, not among even the idle, but among the work-

ing classes of society, in order to procure to the state peace, order, and durability. How, my lord, is such strange infatuation to be accounted for, but by supposing that too much learning is *worse* than too little; that like an enthusiast, his imagination is intoxicated with scientific research, and his head become giddy with erudition—an example by no means singular.* It is only by imagining the author to occupy this unfortunate situation, that we can account for that crude and undigested method so palpable to every eye through the whole of this book; it is not possible otherwise to reconcile the cleverness and strange puerilities with which the publication teems. But your lordship shall judge for yourself. He would not

* "The proper sphere of man's reason is so narrow, and the exercise of it so nice, that the too immoderate use of it is attended with the same ignorance that proceeds from the not using it at all. It is so true that ignorance arises as well from pushing our inquiries too far, as from not carrying them far enough, that we may observe, when speculations *even in science* are carried beyond a certain point; that point where use is reasonably supposed to end, and mere curiosity to begin; they conclude in the MOST EXTRAVAGANT AND SENSELESS INFERENCES. Such as the unreality of matter, the reality of space, the servility of the will, &c. The cause of this sudden fall out of full light into utter darkness seems not to arise from the natural condition of things, but to be the arbitrary decree of infinite wisdom and goodness, which imposed a barrier to the extravagancies of its giddy, lawless creature, *always inclined to pursue truths of less importance too far, and to neglect those which are more necessary for his improvement in his station here.*" Warburton on Pope, ep. 2.

have any one select the books that are to compose the libraries of these mechanics, but the mechanics themselves; upon a novel principle, that the working classes, who used to be called the mob, invariably decide as they should do! In teaching "the multitude" geometry, the learned gentleman says, "it is not necessary to go through the whole steps of that beautiful system." I have no patience with such nonsense. Nor are other notions less whimsical or more convincing as to the learned gentleman's obliquity. "A farm servant, or bailiff," says he, "will gain the more in money or money's worth, for knowing the economy and diseases of cattle." But how the diseases of cattle are to be learnt by geometry the learned gentleman does not tell us; nor indeed, though it is part of the context, does he make out how the knowledge of diseases in cattle will "improve the morals, expand the understanding, or refine the taste." Men are often called the creatures of circumstances, and the most important events are said to grow out of the most trivial causes. But the learned gentleman disdains any such antiquated notions. He reasons as if he had nothing to do but project, and no matter what it is, the result is to turn up to his satisfaction. In estimating the expenses, the learned gentleman has already decided that "rent is to be moderate;" and the difficulty of obtaining a fit lecturer is removed by a stroke of his wand, for he tells us,

"an experienced teacher shall go from place to place;" and in order to light up in his mind a spirit of philosophic emulation, he adds, "that the man qualified for the task, who should fastidiously reject so useful and so honorable an occupation, might be a man of science, but would little deserve to be called a philosopher." *

There are to be clubs, too, of philosophers; but no speech-making—patrons, too, but none that have not the good of the institution at heart. But

* One would suppose there was something very meritorious in being a philosopher, from the stress which Mr. Brougham lays upon the word. It is possible that there may have been some good philosophers, but I guess they bear but a small proportion to the very many bad ones. Generally speaking, they have been bad Christians and worse subjects. The learned gentleman, therefore, should tell us what description it is that he would select for us, and what is the end of the philosophy he proposes. Different persons entertain different ideas of philosophers. One would hardly suppose, for instance, that the learned gentleman meant that class of persons, so famous in Ancient Persia, called "Magi;" yet they were called "the most skilful mathematicians and philosophers of the age in which they lived." Besides sundry "wicked and mischievous arts which they practised," and which gave rise to the word "magic," their ambition was so great, that one of them, THE MAGUS SMERDIS, impudently aspired to the throne, and on the death of Cambyses, about 521 years before Christ, actually usurped it. He was however soon displaced, and with his brother Patizithes, another magus, killed. A massacre of all the magi ensued; and such was the great joy manifested throughout the kingdom, on the extermination of the mathematicians and philosophers, that an annual feast was instituted to commemorate the happy event, which was called Magophonia!!

who is to stop the speech-making, or to find out the real object of patrons, deponent sayeth not. The members themselves, the learned gentleman may possibly say. But supposing the members themselves to be given to speech-making, and members sometimes are, what is to happen then? or supposing the patron to be some designing fellow, that under some mask or other is aiming only to exalt himself, what remedy the operatives have, we are not informed.

In the twenty-eighth page, the learned gentleman outdoes himself—outherods Herod: "No one has a right," says he, "to assume the titles of liberal-minded or friendly to the poor, if he has done nothing in his own neighbourhood to found a popular lecture, or establish a reading club." Without ever having proved the benefit, or even the necessity of either, further than by general assertion, he ventures to libel every individual of the country that refuses to disseminate discontent, or to establish what must, according to the learned gentleman's plan, end only in being a school for faction and democracy. In the same page the learned gentleman tells us, "teachers will present themselves to supply the want;" a fact of which there can be no doubt. But that they are "duly qualified," as he goes on to say, admits of great doubt; and if duly qualified, that they will be well-disposed, of still greater! In another place the learned gentleman says, "Great as the

disposition to learn already is among the working classes, and certain as a lecture would be of attendance wherever it was once set on foot, there is still a necessity for the upper classes coming forward to assist in making the first step." God be thanked there is, and if the upper classes are not unmindful of their own benefit, of the happiness of their poorer fellow-creatures, and of the welfare of the country at large, they will, like honest men, good neighbours, and faithful subjects, do all in their power to crush a project so chimerical in theory, yet so terrible in its consequences; a project that has no principle to recommend it, no means to accomplish it, nor any good end to be gained by it. They will look into their families, and see the evil effects which it has already produced; they will learn, if they will but consult the Scriptures, that knowledge is nowhere stated to be essential to happiness; and if they will consult common sense, they will be convinced of what our forefathers have left us a gratifying proof, that the uneducated labourer is as happy in his contented hearth,

His knowledge measured to his state and place,

as the first nobleman in the land, blest with science, power, and wealth. And if any paroxysm of this spurious humanity should come across the breast of an individual of the upper class, let him ask himself the question which the learned gentleman tells him he should do, before he gives his

alms to the poor—" However humane the motive, am I doing any real good in so expending my money, or am I not doing more harm than good?" * Let him ask himself this question before he patronizes these institutions; and if he has any humanity for these deluded creatures whom the learned gentleman is leading blindfold to the brink of a precipice, let him raise his voice, or stretch forth his arm, to avert the calamity that must ensue; let him, as a good father would point out to an inexperienced infant the danger of gratifying this or that injudicious desire, rip the bandage from his eyes, point out to him the gulf of misery into which he is plunging, and " in so useful and so honorable an occupation," deserve what ought to be the end of science, the appellation, not of a Philosopher or a Jesuit, but of a friend to his country, to humanity, and to religion.

* Some such question as this the shopkeepers with great propriety may ask themselves, before they submit to closing their shops at so much earlier an hour than usual.—The practice cannot fail to be attended with the greatest injury. The motive may be good, but the result must do harm. Where there is one young man found studying geometry and mathematics, there are fifty at the play-house, or wandering through the streets. Where there is one found reading Franklin or Bacon, there are a hundred spelling the daily papers, selecting those parts which must be the least profitable to their morals or understandings. The project, like that of philosophizing the mass of the people, is partly owing to the cant of the times, which bids fair to vie, if it goes on increasing in the way it has lately done, with the wildest enthusiasm of Cromwell's *saintly* reign.

On the subject of charity, the learned gentleman is rather more systematic; yet are his ideas so new, his doctrine so dangerous, and withal so inconsistent, that it must be treated a little more in detail.

"In order to answer the question alluded to above," says the learned gentleman, "he must reflect, that no proposition is more undeniably true than this, that the existence of a known and regular provision for the poor, whether in the ordinary form of pensions, doles, gratuities, clothing, firing, &c., or in the shape of maintenance for poor children, in whole, or only in part, as clothing, has the inevitable tendency to bring forward not only as many objects as the provision will maintain, but a far greater number. The immediate consequence of such provisions is, to promote idleness and poverty beyond what the funds can relieve: the continued and known existence of the provisions trains up a race of paupers; and a provision for children, especially, promotes improvident marriages, and increases the population by the addition of paupers. It is therefore a sacred duty which every one owes to the community, to refrain from giving contributions to begin such funds; and if he has already become a yearly contributor, it is equally his duty to withdraw his assistance, unless one condition is complied with, —namely, that no new objects shall be taken into the establishment, but that those only who at pre-

sent belong to it shall be maintained; so that the mischief may be terminated within a limited time, and nothing unfair or harsh done towards those who had previously depended on its funds. I remember the time when money given to beggars was supposed to be well bestowed—a notion now exploded; yet even this exercise of benevolence is less mischievous than the support of regular establishments for the increase of paupers." p. 29.

The greatest part of this extract is, strictly speaking, true, and what inference can be drawn from it, but this? That such is the weakness of our nature, and our improvident abuse of free-will, that we even make a bad use of charity.

"To remedy it," says the learned gentleman, "the wise and considerate manner which I venture to recommend, would speedily place at the disposal of charitable and enlightened individuals ample funds for supporting works of real, because of most useful charity." p. 30.

By which extract we are to understand, that public charities are henceforth recommended to support scientific education to the working classes; and that no abuse may be apprehended, the funds should be at the "disposal of charitable and enlightened individuals."

"Much abuse," continues the learned gentleman, "appeared to have crept into the management, in consequence of tradesmen acting as trustees, and voting on the orders to themselves, and

on the payment of their own accounts. It was deemed right to check this; and a rule was adopted, at a meeting of trustees, to prevent so scandalous a practice for the future. It was, however, rejected at a meeting of the subscribers, for which, in all probability, the tradesmen had made a canvass, and obtained the attendance of friends. Nay, a most learned and humane Judge, who was one of the trustees, having afterwards proposed a resolution merely to forbid any trustee or subscriber voting on matters in which he was personally interested, it 'was rejected instantly, and therefore not recorded on the minutes;' whereupon his lordship abstained from attending any future meeting, and, I trust, from ever contributing to the fund. This is one instance only of thousands, where the money collected from well-disposed persons, who take no further charge of a charity than to pay their subscriptions, is wasted by the jobbing of too active and interested managers." pp. 30, 31.

By this we see, that a specific charity was most scandalously abused in consequence of tradesmen acting as trustees, which he says is only one instance of thousands, where the money collected from well-disposed persons, was "wasted by the jobbing of too active and interested managers."

And again, "The same money which is now, not uselessly, but perniciously bestowed, might, by a

little care, and a due portion of steadiness in resisting the interested clamours of persons who subscribe for the purpose of turning it to their own profit, be made the means of at once educating all the children in the worst district of London, and of planting there the light of science among the most useful and industrious class of the community." p. 31.

That is to say, instead of relieving the poor, you should spend your alms in planting the light of science among the people.

By the two first quotations, we perceive that charities are abused by the lowest class of people, and they are abused by tradesmen acting as trustees; to remedy which, the learned gentleman would place the funds at the disposal of enlightened (that is, I suppose, scientific) individuals. By the two last we are to understand, that, instead of giving alms to the poor, he would give them to works of more real, because of most useful charity:—namely, by diffusing the light of science among the most useful and industrious classes of the community.

In reply to the first part; the lower class of people, the learned gentleman tells us, it is universally admitted, abuse charities. Raised a point higher, that is, to tradesmen, who are certainly better educated than the lower classes, the learned gentleman quotes an example of the scandalous abuse of charities. What security have we

then that the disposal of the funds would be one tittle more justly administered as we advance another step in the scale of education? By the learned gentleman's own shewing, we do not increase in honesty as we become more enlightened. Science may expand the mind, but can the learned gentleman shew it improves the heart? The learned gentleman is surely too modest to contend, like the Gnostics of old, that the most learned men are always the best!*

In reply to the second part, in which the learned gentleman would persuade us not to give our alms to the poor, but to give them to works of more real, because of most useful charity; I would ask, Why more real? more useful to what? Will it make them better subjects or better Christians?† It will not make them better subjects if it excites discontent, which it assuredly will; and as to its making them better Christians, the learned gentleman has an awkward antagonist in St. Paul, who says, *Beware, lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of*

* The Gnostics of old were, if I mistake not, *great philosophers*, believing learning to be the *summum bonum*. It is affirmed by an ancient writer, that were it possible for the knowledge of God to be separated from eternal salvation, the Gnostic could make no scruple to choose the knowledge. Another part of their doctrine was, that men, however vicious in their practice, would be saved by their learning!!!

† Lord Bacon was a great philosopher, and yet was mean, avaricious, and dishonest.

men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ. Col. ii. 8.

Nor is this all which we collect from these extracts. We there see how ready the learned gentleman is to carry his own point to *show up* the tradesman. It would not have been difficult, I conceive, in the voluminous report to which the learned gentleman alludes, to have found out some case where the higher classes of society have abused some charity or other. But that did not answer the learned gentleman's purpose; that would have shewn how liable the best educated are to abuse of trust; and so he selects the case of tradesmen, sparing no offensive epithet in speaking of them, when common gratitude, one would have supposed, would have made him more tender. But from these extracts there is still something more to be learned, and that is, that a most learned and humane Judge was so disgusted with the self-interestedness of the tradesmen trustees, that he abstained from attending rather than lay himself open to the taunts and clamours of too active and interested strangers; a fact that strongly applies to the danger of these institutions; for, supposing peaceable and humane persons to support them in the first instance, they will be deterred from prosecuting their good but misguided intentions, when they perceive that the money collected from well-disposed persons, is but a lure in the garb of humanity, to catch the innocent and

unwary; which, once established, can never be put down. To charities the whole extract does not apply, for charity is enjoined by Scripture, and if it is abused, the crime lies with those who receive it unworthily; not with the donor, whose intention it does not impeach. But to such institutions as the learned gentleman recommends, it does apply; for the motive cannot be proved to be good, the design beneficial, nor are the abuses to which all human institutions are liable, in any manner guarded against. This statement however of the learned gentleman, in addition to an admission which he makes in the fifth page, proves him not unacquainted with our natural weakness; and yet, throughout his book,—a blessing on such consistency, in such a cause—he argues on the infallibility of human nature! The cause itself is bad, and no human ability can make it the better cause. It is, my lord, in fact, a project of that specious and equivocal character, which marked one in earlier times, not a whit less humane in theory, but by no means attended with such dangerous consequences to the state as this is. In 1730 a corporation was established to lend money to the poor on pledges, by the name of "The Charitable Corporation;" but the whole was perverted to the iniquitous scheme of enriching particular people, to the ruin of such numbers, that it became a parliamentary concern to endeavour to relieve those unhappy sufferers; and those of the managers who were

members of the House of Commons were expelled.*

It was not my intention to notice in this place any other arguments than those of Mr. Brougham; but a part of the public press is so unjust, that it accuses the opposers of scientific education to the working classes as being ready to trample on rising genius. The following charge means this, or that it is a most notorious falsehood is self-evident. We have no less an authority than the learned gentleman himself to refute it. "Any objection to such institutions," say they, "arises from the inveteracy of prejudice, and the natural unwillingness of selfish minds to see themselves approached or outstripped in knowledge by others, particularly by their inferiors in wealth and station." But to shew that this is not true, I need only premise, that up to a late period we never heard of geometry and mathematics being taught to artisans and ploughmen; for, says the learned gentleman, his system is to extend to those who work "in the open air." Yet that great talents were in the habit, and daily I may say, of rising to wealth, to power, and to fame, encouraged by one and all, no one can deny;

* The persons expelled were, Sir Richard Sutton, Sir Archibald Grant, and Dennis Bond, Esq. By the report of the committee, to whom, Mr. Shippen said, the house ought to be extremely obliged for the great pains they had taken, and for the great skill they had shewn, "in detecting a dark and execrable scene of villainy;" it appeared that some of the directors said, "Damn the poor," "God hates the poor," and "That every man in want is either knave or fool!!!"

and this without universities, professors, or apparatus. Indeed, the learned gentleman well shews how superfluous are the very means he recommends; for he tells us, in page 13, that by far the grandest discoveries in natural science were made with scarcely any apparatus. "A pan of water and two thermometers," says the learned gentleman, "were the tools, that in the skilful hands of a Black, detected latent heat; a crown's worth of glass, threepenny-worth of salt, a little chalk, and a pair of scales, enabled the same great philosopher to found the system of modern chemistry, by tracing the existence and the combinations of fixed air; a prism, a lens, and a sheet of pasteboard, enabled Newton to unfold the composition of light and the origin of colours." And that there has been for a considerable number of years past no exclusion of the meanest mechanic from wealth and fame, if he shewed any traits of genius, I have likewise his able authority to produce. "With little more machinery, the genius of Scheele (a working chemist,) created the materials of which the fabric was built, and anticipated some of the discoveries that have illustrated a later age. Franklin (a working printer) ascertained the nature of lightning with a kite, a wire, a bit of riband, and a key."

If, then, by such simple means, such humble men have produced such marvellous discoveries, and have obtained such well-merited applause, where is the necessity of a Mechanics' In-

stitution and a London University? The answer is obvious enough. Because, say they, it will increase the facility of science among the working classes, and excite more emulation. Admitted: What then? Why then the question relapses into this: With a door sufficiently wide to admit "a working chemist" and "a printer's boy" to such a distinguished situation in society, with such humble means, is it not better to be content, than run the risk, by such fantastic and chimerical advantages, of exciting a spirit of disaffection, discontent, envy, and insubordination? To confine ourselves only to discontent;—is it not manifest to the commonest understanding that it will produce this feeling? If it creates in individuals new desires, which the persons in authority think it necessary to forbid, for the good of the whole, it can produce in our frail natures nothing but discontent. And if that is produced among the great body of the people, beset as the constitution is by other most alarming dangers from within and without, is it not the bounden duty of every well-wisher to his country to attempt to stem the torrent? It is childish, therefore, for the learned gentleman to say, that he rejoices to think "that it is not necessary to combat objections to the diffusion of science among the working classes, arising from considerations of a political nature." If this is a subject of joy to him, it must be at all events of short duration. The cant of the times may do

much,—disappointed ambition may add its quota, —and the short-sightedness of the multitude, who know not what they seek, may have its effect; but surely there is still left in the nation a sufficient degree of patriotism to oppose, with all the means and strength of the great mass of the population, so insidious a scheme; and in the government, sufficient firmness and decision to thwart its tendency, to crush its supporters, and to "scatter the proud in the imagination of their hearts."

In the same simple and unstatesmanlike style, the learned gentleman goes on to say, "Happily the time is past and gone by, when bigots could persuade mankind that the lights of philosophy were to be extinguished as dangerous to religion, and when tyrants could proscribe the instructors of the people as dangerous to their power." And, as if repetition could supply the want of proof, he adds, in his appeal to the upper classes of society, "The question no longer is, whether or not the people shall be instructed, for that has been determined long ago, and the decision is irreversible; but whether they shall be *well* or *ill* taught." So, unless the higher classes of society subscribe to their own ruin, the people are to be ill taught, rather than not taught at all! A pretty specimen of the intention which the first statesman and the first lawyer of the age has nearer his heart than any other.*

* See the Lord Rector's Speech at Glasgow.

In the same style, or possibly in a still more reprehensible one, is a passage a few lines afterwards, where the learned gentleman attempts to intimidate with a threat those that would impeach his assertion, by saying, that "in England any attempt to check its progress would only bring about the sudden destruction of him who should be insane enough to make it." Generally speaking, one suspects, that when an advocate disdains fair argument, and seizes on proof, as it were, by a *coup de main*, he has but a weak case; and I should therefore marvel if this were as strong an one as the learned gentleman would lead us to believe it is, or his great abilities would have foreseen that he is thus hurting his cause. Those endowed with a grain of sense must necessarily, therefore, suspect all is not right; and those endowed with a spark of courage, would hold his threat in the contempt it deserves. As far as so humble an individual as myself is concerned, I am prepared to say, whenever a proper opportunity shall occur, I will avow my dissent, not because I am unfriendly to the people, but because I would warn them of their danger; not because I am friendly to bigots, to tyrants, and bad rulers; but because I hate them as much as the learned gentleman can: and because I do hate them, I raise my voice against his scheme, which must necessarily throw the government of the country on the people; and the people being invariably led by some designing individual, ever were,

and ever will be, the greatest of all bigots, the most tyrannical of all tyrants, the worst of all rulers!

Since the learned gentleman has given us to believe, that, like a good man and a good Englishman, he has only recommended these institutions to promote the good order of society, the peace of the country, and the stability of the government, we are bound to believe him. But how he can reconcile with such praiseworthy attempts the manner in which he has so indiscreetly managed the latter part of his subject, and one or two passages in the earlier part of his book, which I have only passed over, that I may impress them more particularly on your lordship's attention and that of the country, in my concluding remarks on his "*Practical* Observations;" I am at a loss to understand. Judging, no doubt, from himself, he fancied mankind approached nearly to perfection, and that they would therefore make the best use of the talent which Providence had bestowed on them; an error into which the best of us may fall. But to shew he did not always make this his principle, he fatally embellished the blunder he had made, with an example of the abuse of trust, and the misapplication of funds. How, my lord, can we reconcile this inconsistency, amongst the many others, in so learned a gentleman, but by supposing, as I have before supposed, that he is overcome with science; and that, like a drunken man, he is reeling about in all directions, hitting here and

there, but seldom with any just aim or effect? Or must we suppose, that for his unjustifiable recommendation respecting charities, Providence has deserted him, that his mind wanders, and that he falls within that well-known and just observation,

"Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat?"

Be it which it will, there can be no doubt he has said sufficient, considering his high character, to do the greatest harm; and it is the duty of every man, who is determined neither to be bubbled nor bullied, to do his best to counteract the mischief.

In page 4, the learned gentleman says, "the day indeed seems now to break, when we may hope to see no marked line of separation between the two classes; (that is, between the working classes and philosophers) I trust another distinction will soon be known no more." Now the early part of this sentence it is very easy to understand, that is, that we are to have our pots and pans mended, our clothes made, our fields ploughed, and our streets macadamized—by philosophers! Thrice happy nation, to enjoy blessings such as these! But the latter part of the sentence it is more difficult to comprehend; because the learned gentleman tells us, he trusts *another* distinction will soon be known no more. But he does not tell us what that other distinction is; which, at all events, is not quite fair. In page 17, we are enabled, however, to judge pretty accurately what other dis-

tinction he refers to; for there the learned gentleman calls "those feelings alike painful and injurious, which arise from the assumption of authority, grounded on the mere differences of rank or wealth." But the assumption of authority, grounded on the differences of rank and wealth, is the character of our government; and without saying whether or not such is the distinction which the learned gentleman, in page 4, trusts "will soon be known no more;" it is quite clear from this passage, that he is averse to the present distinctions which characterize society. And if he is averse to these, is it not more than probable, that the working classes, who look up to him as a demigod, will be averse to them likewise? I have already shewn, that the bare project of such an education as the learned gentleman recommends, must produce discontent. Let that result follow, and we find, as the working classes get more power, they are taught to consider "those feelings alike painful and injurious," which arise from our present distinctions. And all this is done to promote the good order of society, the peace of the country, and the stability of the government!!!

Supposing these "mere differences" to be done away with, the good order of society may be produced. But then, my lord, I think, with due deference, it is incumbent on the learned gentleman to shew how it is to be brought about.

Supposing them to be done away with, the peace

of the country may be secured. But then, my lord, with due deference, I think the learned gentleman should display some example to justify it.

Supposing them to be done away with, a government, it is true, may exist; but the stability of *the* government must be destroyed; unless the learned gentleman is clever enough to find out that the stability may remain when the government is gone, that the shadow may flitter when the substance has disappeared. And if he cannot establish this, then it is quite clear that the object he has at heart, and the means he has calculated on to obtain it, are opposed to each other.

Far be it from me to accuse the learned gentleman of having any other object in view but the good of the country; but that the present style of government will be destroyed, the learned gentleman's own words clearly prove. Supposing *that* to be possible, and still the benefit of the country to be contemplated by Mr. Brougham, I will then take leave to say he would have acted a part more manly, and more in consonance with what I have heard is his usual conduct, if he had declared it openly, instead of attempting to accomplish it by indirect means:—if, instead of calling his pamphlet "Practical Observations on the Education of the People," he had called it, "Chimerical Notions upon the Education of the People, calculated to overturn the Government, for the good Order of Society and the Peace of the Country!!!"

I will be bold, however, to say, my lord, that had the principles of this pamphlet, inconsistent as they are, been inculcated by any other person than the learned gentleman, who has *at least* the good order of society and the peace of the country at heart—had they, I say, been inculcated in open day by a person who had no such motives and no such talents to recommend him, I should have said that the red cap indeed was not hoisted, but that they had every other emblem of liberty and equality to excite apprehension and alarm, and consequently to call forth every dormant energy, to rouse every British spirit to our country's beck. But, written as they are by the learned gentleman, we can only regret that such meritorious purposes, and such splendid talents, should be fraught with such imminent danger.

Your lordship's intercourse with the world cannot have failed to convince you how difficult it is to allay the passions of the working classes when once inflamed. Nor ought another consideration to be lost on your lordship; which is, that however guileless the learned gentleman may be in his intentions, it is quite manifest that, judging by *his* book, *they* will suppose the only obstacle to their happiness, are the feelings, alike painful and injurious, which arise from distinctions in society. What then can your lordship expect, but that they will assail, in their misguided zeal, that bulwark of our constitution? Your lordship will then be

levelled with the other philosophers; the dread of which would not, I am satisfied, intimidate your lordship, if it was for your country's good. But if, in so frightful a revolution of things as must then necessarily occur, you saw your country bleeding at every pore, every thing you held dear in the world bereft of life, or even worse;

"All pity choked with custom of fell deeds;"

with what anguish of mind would your lordship recollect, that it was by the light of your countenance alone, this young hydra was cherished and warmed into life?

In this earnest appeal to your lordship, I can put my hand on my heart, and say, I have no purpose to serve, or ambition to gratify, unless that indeed can be called ambition, which consists in attempting, as far as my humble abilities will permit, to avert from my country so sad a catastrophe, as the abolition of rank and wealth must produce. And that this must ensue from the indiscriminate education recommended, from the learned gentleman's own words, and the notorious abuse instead of use of our reason required, no impartial person can deny.

Let me therefore implore your lordship, if what I have said has not already convinced you, to ascertain from Mr. Brougham himself what style of government it is which he anticipates; and not to suffer yourself to be persuaded by his plausible eloquence to give your sanction to any

measure that he does not clearly and explicitly define in all its bearings, its means, and ends.

Let us have some plain intelligible and uniform design. The happiness of an individual, or of a kingdom, cannot exist in profound mysteries and fine speculations, but in a plain and honest practice of the solid and substantial virtues of a good life, the end of which is, if the life of our Saviour is admitted to be an example, that ye should follow his steps; —" teach men of high degree to be humble and serviceable to the good of others, and men of low degree to be contented and cheerful in the meanest condition." He possessed " all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge," and the use he made of them was, in confuting the doctors, in confounding the wisdom of the wise, and declaring to his hearers, in a clear and familiar manner, those things which were most useful and necessary for them to know, recommending them to conform not only to divine, but human laws, giving " to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and to God the things which are God's." Not like the Pharisees, did he give strict precepts to others, which he himself did not follow. " They said and did not; laid heavy burdens upon others and grievous to be borne, when they themselves would not touch them with one of their fingers." Nor like the philosophers, who spake fine and glorious things of wisdom and virtue, but did much like other men; gave strict rules to others, but lived loosely themselves;

enjoined their fellows to active study or laborious investigation, but confined themselves to more lucrative employment, or more luxurious ease!

It surely is incumbent on Mr. Brougham to let us know to what extent he would carry his mechanic's education; or, to be still more specific, to declare at once, if he would give the working classes as good an education as the houses of lords or commons. If it falls short of that, it cannot bring about the blessed results of the learned gentleman's expectations; it being well known, I believe, that he entertains a very humble opinion of those bodies. Nay, he has, I believe, accused them of intolerance, want of justice, want of principle, of corruption and self-interest. Admitting, for the sake of argument, all this to be true;—then, has education, advanced so far, not improved the man! But, supposing that the working classes were superior to our senate in ability? Are they to take their places? Is it possible to suppose they will be satisfied with any thing less? And having them, will they be satisfied without their estates? It is absurd to think that these enlightened mechanics will be such a heaven-born race as to have no passions, no prejudices like other people; that they will be content to till the ground or mend the streets when they are able to instruct the lords and commons; that they will feel so much gratitude to their superiors as never to meddle with the government, giving their advice,

when called upon, without reward or hope of it; that they will live like labourers, work like labourers,* but devote what time they can spare from working hours, to ascertain the longitude, to penetrate the dark recesses of science, or peradventure to find out the philosopher's stone. This, my lord, it is next to impossible to suppose; yet if they are not thus to act, their talents are of no use; or being used, they will take the helm into their own hands, and steer the vessel of the state into the fanciful harbour of perfection. Hail glorious day! that shall witness "this consummation so devoutly to be wished," when man shall cast off his mortal infirmities, and with them the inclinations and passions inherent in our nature.

But, supposing, my lord, that these worthies, by any mistake, should still have a fancy for the good things of this world,—what would become of the present aristocracy when the senate was so composed? Could they be put on the shelf?†

* If it was necessary to refute further such absurdities, it may be easily shown that practice and theory seldom unite in the same individual; that the occupation of the practitioner requires all his time and thoughts to fulfil the wishes of his eye or hand: whilst the theorist reasons within himself, *and throws himself on his mind.* Theoretical excellence must have leisure for its soil, which mechanics have not. Practical excellence requires experience, which theorists are defective in.

† Surely the learned gentleman is beginning at the wrong end. The natural course of knowledge is like that of water,—from

Are you prepared for such a change? Are you, by a specious shew of humanity towards the working classes of this country, incompatible with the government we live under, ready to enlist yourself in a cause which is to abolish distinctions, or to change them from what now exist to those of talent and science? Are you ready to become a member of a national council, and an agent of democracy? Aye, my lord, of democracy; for as distinctions in society arising from wealth or rank form the character of a monarchy, so is the doing away such distinctions, or substituting talent or science in their place, the character of a democracy. Now, my lord, if this be so, and who can refute it? what a strong argument is it against an education superior to that of lords and commons? For does it not *plainly show* that the learned gentleman himself, whose abilities every body must acknowledge—" whose profound wisdom, sustained by unbounded learning, and embellished with the most brilliant fancy,"—(I quote

the mountain to the valley, not from the valley to the mountain. How much better therefore would Mr. Brougham employ his great talents and laudable motives, in proposing some improvement in our universities, or first-rate schools! Or, at all events, in common compassion to the nobility and country gentlemen, let him propose an university, where they can learn to mend breeches and shoes, make bricks, or mortar, against that eventful period, when they are to resign all they now possess to the philosophers. Indeed, Mr. Brougham, this would only be common humanity to your old friends!

his own character of that celebrated philosopher, Lord Bacon, who never, by-the-by, that I know of, in the plenitude of his knowledge, recommended a scientific education to the working classes) has fallen into the greatest error; and who, in his laudable anxiety to make us happy, learned, and contented, has recommended a system, that would plunge the country into irretrievable ruin and despair?

The learned gentleman himself must be too well acquainted with history to be an advocate for republicanism. He cannot surely be so blind to his own interest, as to promote so alarming an alteration. He cannot but recollect, and it marks the finger of Providence as a just judgment and retribution, that the first abettors of such schemes are ever the first victims :

" Nec lex est justior ulla,
Quam necis artifices arte perire suâ!"

The cruelties and arrogance of the Athenian people, fed by success, and inflamed by the boisterous eloquence of their daily favorites, cannot fail to strike him; nor can the revengeful and unrelenting temper of democratical despotism, the unsteady and ferocious attributes of the sovereign mob, be unknown to him. It is the passions and prejudices, not the reason, of the people, that bear undisputed sway, when they have the power. The fate of the best among us will depend, not on the justice of our cause, not on the intention of the parties, but on those who will be persuaded of

any thing by any eloquent accuser. Fear, suspicion, and their certain attendant, a disposition to severity, has been, and ever will be, the characteristic of power in the hands of the people. Let not the learned gentleman "lay the flattering unction to his soul," that a scientific education will improve them. But, supposing it would, all cannot be so instructed; and the passions of those that are not, will be increased by their invidiousness for those that are, or by the anger of those that are supplanted. Is a later instance lost on the learned gentleman? Has France, calling herself "the most polished of the most polished age of the world," no beacon to warn him? Can he think of the cruelties she committed, the enormities she applauded, which make all the accounts on record of barbarians credible, even moderate—without horror? Have the wounds she inflicted on society, scarcely yet skinned over, no terrors to alarm him, —can they excite no compassion to deter him? But I forbear: I rather appeal to your lordship, which I do with the utmost confidence.

I will not however ask you to rely on my hypothesis, or admit my conclusions. I will not ask your lordship to pronounce the project of giving a scientific education to the working classes of this country visionary or dangerous. All I ask of your lordship is, to admit that neither Mr. Brougham, nor any of his partisans, have made out a case that can justify the experiment they propose. It is incumbent on them to show the Necessity or

the Advantage of the measure.* They must prove, that up to this period, owing to the reprehensible restrictions on knowledge, the greatest talents have been smothered in obscurity, to the manifest injury of their country. Having made this appear, they must then prove that the proposed plan is the safest and best to remedy the admitted grievance; or they cannot but fail in establishing the necessity of the measure—and will not the innumerable examples that rise up round about us, and in the midst of us, decide against them *in limine?*

* By the following extract from the Scots Magazine, which appeared in the Examiner of December 18, 1825, it appears the advantages of education are still less advantageous than I thought them. "The trade of author," says the writer, "is necessarily the most precarious of all professions. It is dependent on a thousand contingencies, from which almost every other is exempt. If our feeble admonition would be listened to, we would say, let no man pursue literature as a profession. It is the worst species of gambling, in which the blanks are countless as the sand, and the prizes 'few and far between.' It is a trade which promises little to ambition, and more frequently purveys for misery. It sears and scathes the mind by care and disappointment, and unfits it for the full display of its native powers. It is the forlorn hope of life, where the reckless and desperate will adventure, while the truly brave will reserve their exertions for the regular struggle. If, as the Preface to his Dictionary testifies, Johnson narrowly escaped shipwreck in this dangerous region, how can inferior men hope to navigate it in safety? If the royal bounty alone enabled him to spend the evening of his life in comfort, who for his fame would encounter the hazard of poverty, dependence, and sorrow, from which kingly generosity so opportunely relieved him."

Let them urge the advantage of the measure, namely, that it will make them better subjects, or better Christians,—they must shew by what means. It will be no good reason to say, they will know their duty better, unless they can prove they will perform it better: neither will it avail them to say, "the Author of all things will be better known," unless they are likewise prepared to shew he will be better worshipped.

Neither is it charity, humanity, or religion. It is not meek and disinterested charity, but blind and mistaken zeal.* It is not humanity; which implies not merely present, but ultimate good. Nor is it religion; for religion is the great band of human society, the foundation of truth, and fidelity, and justice, among men. But when religion once comes to supplant moral righteousness, and to teach men the absurdest things in the world, "to lie for the truth, and to kill men for God's sake;" when it serves for no other purpose but to be a bond of conspiracy, to inflame the tempers of men to a greater fierceness, and to set a keener edge upon their spirits, and to make them "ten times more

* Paley founds the blessings of charity on the 35th and 36th verses of the 25th chapter of St. Matthew: "For I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in: naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me." Yet here is not a word said about the "light of science!"

the children of wrath and of cruelty than they were by nature;" then surely it loses its nature, and ceases to be religion.

In the absence, then, of all necessity,—in the absence of all advantage,—one would have supposed that the partisans of this system would at least have produced example. It is true Mr. Brougham has mentioned Scotland and Switzerland. But, my lord, you must know, as well as the learned gentleman, that a precedent does not apply unless it bears exactly on the case in point. He must make out, therefore, that the government is the same, the feelings of the people the same, their numbers and their habits the same; and then we must necessarily revert to a previous question,—has it made them better subjects?* Now, admitting for the sake of argument, that Scotland is a fair example, which, by the way, I deny; admitting that the system in Scotland works well, making the people more contented in their station of life under their *present* pastors and masters, which we need not travel far to see the fallacy of; it is nevertheless a scheme big with danger, unless there be some provision made to guard against

* "Train up a child in the way he should go," is another scriptural injunction. To follow nature, and confine men, generally speaking, to that line of life they have been brought up in, has hitherto been thought the wisest plan, and is well enough expressed in that appropriate, but perhaps vulgar adage, "Ne sutor ultra crepidam."

those abuses, inherent in human nature, for the time to come.

Switzerland cannot apply; it is a republic!!!

Without, therefore, any proof of necessity, without any proof of advantage, without any apposite precedent, let us, my lord, still look at it more generally. And here I may remark, that it is rather a strange coincidence, that for so long a period this country should have gone on, as it has, without entertaining any such project; that the wisest ministers, the most experienced politicians, the firmest patriots, should at different times have been at the helm of the state, attentive to all the interests of the kingdom but this, and passing this over, that the nineteenth century may hail the glorious event, achieved by the infinite wisdom of Mr. Brougham! It is a fact which singly must stagger your lordship. What then must it do, when there is no necessity pointed out, no advantage specified, no example on record? What judge, my lord, would, in the absence of such testimony, support such a doctrine? In that character I appeal to you, because you have supported it: as a judge, therefore, you cannot but be acceptable to the schemers, for you are already on their side. But such is my confidence in my cause, and in your justice, that I have no apprehension for the result. As an honest man, you will acknowledge your error, if you have been led into one, humble and nameless as the means are, by which you are

extricated from it. In this character you will withdraw your support if you are satisfied of its pernicious tendency. But this is not all. Your lordship's character stands high in the country as a good subject, an independent nobleman, a clever politician, and as the head of a party. As a good subject you are called upon to exert yourself against any measure which tends to disturb the government under which you live;—as an independent nobleman, to uphold the distinctions in society;—as a clever politician, to frustrate any schemes to entrap the unwary;—and if party is to exist, you are called upon to draw a distinction between that and faction; and if you thereby lose some supporters, you will take with you many very respected friends, anxious to maintain the principles of a Whig, without the imputation of a Republican!

I might in continuation appeal to your lordship as a good Christian, and ask you to avert those dangers from the infatuated class of persons who are the objects of this improvident boon. I might ask you to avert that bloodshed which must ensue between the distinctions that be, and no distinctions;—or between old distinctions and new ones. I might ask you to teach them that content is the first of blessings, and that they that would disturb it are their greatest enemies: that in the situation of life which they have hitherto filled, they have been as happy as the best of us; for if they have not tasted the luxuries of the rich, they have not felt

those bickerings and heart-burnings that make them any thing but enviable. But I rather leave this part of the subject to those better able to do it justice than I am; and better qualified, from their avocations in life, than your lordship, to disseminate it.

Unwilling as I am to trespass longer upon your lordship's patience, I cannot resist calling your attention to a few further observations, which occur to me in opposition to this baneful project. Suppose, for instance, that some friend to humanity were to attempt to improve the condition of the beasts of the field;—to teach the horse his power, and the cow her value;—would he be that tractable and useful animal he is, and would she be so profuse of her treasures to a helpless child? Could any thing be more impolitic? Yet there is not, that I know of, any express law against it; nor would it be one jot more ridiculous than teaching tailors and cobblers "the beautiful system of geometry."

Wisdom, power, and riches, are connected together in scripture.* They are advantages which Providence, to superinduce his own inscrutable designs, has placed within the reach of man, that

* "Thus saith the Lord: let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might, let not the rich man glory in his riches: but let him that glorieth, glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth me."—*Jer.* ch. ix. v. 23 and 24.

each possessor may, if he will dispose of them as he ought, minister to his happiness here and hereafter. But, owing to the frailties of our nature, we seldom or ever make a proper use of either the one or the other.

Of the abuse of prosperity innumerable examples must occur to your lordship. "As the Roman soldiers were better paid," says Cicero, "the fastidious insolence of their demands became insupportable." And though, from your lordship's high station in life, it is not likely to have fallen within your notice, it is no more than true, that the same insufferable arrogance, and a proper want of respect to their betters,* has grown out of the present prosperity.†

* Who are their betters? may be exultingly asked. The answer is easy: They *used* to be known; and if they are not so now, it is the fault of that system which is for *levelling* all distinctions.

† The manner in which the working classes have repaid the kindness, certainly shewn them in the repeal of the Combination laws, seems sent on purpose for a warning on other occasions. Mr. Jeffrey, a Scotch gentleman of great learning I believe, thus notices it in his speech at Mr. Hume's dinner in Edinburgh: "But the abolition had been effected only a few short months, when unfortunately a fearful and diabolical set of combinations arose throughout the country. These started up, unhappily, in point of time, no doubt, as regarded the general merits of the abolition, but still not materially. Every one in any degree acquainted with human nature must be aware that the entire removal of restrictions which had long galled a numerous class of such persons, could scarcely fail to produce some commotion among them." This extract is sufficient to shew how the artisans have merited the boon they received. Aware of this,

To the notorious abuse of power your lordship cannot be a stranger. With what right, then, can you suppose that science, the companion of one and the other, will be better treated?*

Is it not then, my lord, in such a crisis, the duty of every person calling himself a statesman, to allay rather than inflame the passions of the multitude? Not that I would ask you, now we have gone so far, to deprive them of the means of reading and writing, which would thus excite discontent;—but I would ask you, and every other statesman that may honor these pages with his notice, to guard against that period which must

Mr. Jeffrey, in order to make an excuse for them, talks about "the restrictions which had long galled them." The same excuse will apply when they have made the most ungenerous and ungrateful return for their scientific education!

* In one of the largest towns in the north of England, a remarkable illustration occurred a few years ago, of the evil tendency of such an education to the working classes as Mr. Brougham recommends. Mr. W. E. a respectable merchant at Leeds, selected from this portion of the community in his neighbourhood, several young men of talent, whom he instructed, at much labour and expense, in almost every branch of science the learned member specifies. Their progress was rapid; but that vanity which men are apt to feel at being raised above their equals, made a still more rapid growth, with other passions and propensities still more reprehensible. In short, the more their proficiency in scientific pursuits became apparent, the more their fear of God, their regard for their fellow-creatures, their respect for themselves, declined; and they all became victims to licentiousness and intemperance at an early age. The fact speaks for itself.

come, when some check shall be given to our manufacturers, and the numerous artisans puffed up with the "pride of science," shall be thrown out of employment. Instead of relying with patience on their superiors, they will suppose that they are able to judge for themselves, and will become the tools of some boisterous demagogue, ready to do any mischief. The seeds of ambition or avarice, planted by education, and then nipped in the bud by disappointment, added to the pressing demands of want, cannot fail to produce the most disastrous consequences. It is not against the gaudy days of summer that the insignificant ant provides its little store; but against the gloomier days of winter: and well would it be if proud man, or the prouder philosopher, would condescend to profit by so humble an example.

It is trifling and foolish to ask, what laws have been broken, or what invasions has the constitution suffered? Danger commences when the breach is made, not when the attack is begun. He who neglects to stop the leak as soon as it is discovered, in hopes to save his ship by pumping, when the water gushes in with violence,—deserves to be drowned. But to lay aside figures of speech,—our constitution is not, like the schemes of some politicians, a jumble of disjointed, incoherent whimsies; but a noble and wise system, the essential parts of which are so proportioned and so intimately connected, that a change in one begets a

change in the whole: and therefore, when so important a change as that which is now contemplated is on foot, if ever, surely, that common-place adage of "Principiis obsta" was justified, it is in this instance. It is equally childish to say, that such institutions are only the whim of the day, and will find their own level. In some measure, however, it is too true;—but where is that level? In the removal of all distinctions in society—in a democracy!

Let it even be shewn, that the wealth of the nation would be increased by this preposterous measure, (and there is danger even in overgrown wealth) still it would be a monstrous folly to adopt it; because, though the arguments on each side may be equal, the hazard is infinitely unequal.

Two other arguments may be urged in favor of the system. The one is, that if the friends of the established church do not give such an education, the dissenters will. The other, that it is only by such means the existing abuses in the government of the country can be removed.—Of these in their turn. If such an education as is now proposed, be confined to dissenters, it will, in the first place, be a great point gained; for it will lessen the evil by reducing its size. Secondly, I question their means of carrying it to that extent which makes it so formidable, namely, by universities, and such stuff. Thirdly, they will thus probably lose the great talents of Mr. Brougham as an advocate, who is, I

believe, a regular church of England man;* and lastly, if they should possess the means, and should even retain the advocate, government will most likely then feel it to be their duty to suppress establishments, which, if not inimical to the constitution, are at least to the religion of the country.

In answer to the second argument, it is but fair to admit, that frightful as this innovation is, it is in a great measure to be attributed to the higher classes of society. It is impossible that any system which does not proceed on honest grounds can triumph; —sooner or later it must tend to its own destruction. The notorious venality of parliaments, the corruption of governments, Whig or Tory, in the election of the most unworthy to distinction and

* It is, however, not a little singular, that some of Mr. Brougham's leading co-operators are Unitarians, and consequently members of a sect hostile to the established church. His "worthy friend, Mr. Marshall, of Leeds," the author of the tract on Economics, is so, I believe. So are the treasurer, and at least one of the vice-presidents of the Leeds Mechanics' Institute. If I am not misinformed, the chapel in Monkwell Street, formerly Dr. Lindsey's, "where temporary accommodation has hitherto been provided," for the London Mechanics' Institute, is a Socinian place of worship, and the remark with which Mr. Brougham accompanies the mention of this circumstance ought not to be overlooked. "If upon such a subject," says he, "we might make any account of omens, surely a scheme for the improvement of mankind could not be commenced under happier auspices than in the place, which *so virtuous and enlightened a friend of his country* had once filled with the spirit of genuine philanthropy, and universal toleration!!!"

emolument, have lowered the one and the other in the estimation of the people. An unreserved abuse and illiberal scoff at independence has crushed all public spirit, and a sordid and pusillanimous line of conduct and party feeling has excited throughout the country a meanness and obsequiousness, incompatible with a noble character, as the surest road to wealth or preferment. Let, however, parliament be more true to the interests of the country, which is in fact their own interest, and these defects in the system may still be remedied by constitutional means, without resorting to such violent ones, as can only reform a part by the destruction of the whole.

At first sight, my lord, I admit that it seems hard to deny our fellow creatures what we confess to have derived considerable enjoyment from ourselves. But, with the same propriety, may the person that claims education from your lordship on such terms, claim part of your estate. Yet I know this is not unfrequently urged in favor of education. It does not deserve the name of an argument—it is but a superficial remark; and whatever is looked at superficially, is generally speaking incorrect. The populace ever judge superficially; the probability therefore is, that they are ever wrong: nor with the little time they are able to devote to study, will all the education they can receive ever do them good, for they will become dissatisfied with their ignorance, before they will

be wise enough to profit by their knowledge. It is reported, I think, of Cato, when the populace cheered a remark he made, that he asked his neighbour, what he had said amiss. Why should not your lordship, like another Cato, hold their applause in like contempt; and, like him, stand forward as your country's champion?

In this proposal of the learned gentleman's there is nothing to merit praise. It has not even novelty to recommend it. It must be in the recollection of your lordship that Voltaire attempted, alas! too successfully, the philosophizing his unfortunate countrymen by nearly the same means. He formed his disciples into coteries, who met periodically to discuss subjects and read books suggested and recommended by him. The rich and exalted were invited to patronize and contribute to institutions, which proved to be designed, as they were admirably calculated, notwithstanding the plausible pretences of their insidious founder, to overturn the existing government, and to level all distinctions in society. To refresh your lordship's memory, and that of the public, with a specimen of the moral and political tenets of these soi-disant philosophers,* I have annexed to this pamphlet a

* The *ancient* philosophy of Greece has been called "impious under Diagoras, vicious under Epicurus, hypocritical under Zeno, impudent under Diogenes, covetous under Democharas, voluptuous under Metrodorus, fantastical under Crates, scurrilous under Menippus, licentious under Pyrrho, and quarrelsome

small portion of their doctrine. It is, however, by no means my intention to infer that the philosophy which the learned gentleman recommends is of a like tendency; but this only renders it so much more imperious on him to specify its principles. Lord Bolingbroke remarks, "that whenever any designs dangerous to the constitution are carried on, they will be private, indirect, and so covered, that the greatest moral certainty may be destitute of proof. Whenever such designs are openly avowed, the danger is over, but the constitution is gone." However, the intentions he has avowed acquit the learned gentleman of any such monstrous iniquity. Your lordship, however, cannot fail to observe, that at some future time, when the present virtuous projectors and enlightened patriots be no more, it is possible that the damnable doctrines of Voltaire and his vile philosophic crew may sprout up again in this country, and deluge it with blood; which renders it indispensably necessary in you, who have played so prominent a part, not to turn a deaf ear to remonstrance, however humble. On that point I shall say no more. I have done my duty—your lordship will, no doubt, do yours!

Far be it from me, my lord, to suppose that I have not been guilty of many errors in the foregoing pages, which your lordship I hope, with the

under Cleanthes!!!!!!" For some account of the *modern* philosophy of France, see Appendix.

same goodness, that you will overlook the liberty I have taken in addressing them to you, will attribute to an insufficient but honest zeal in the cause. I have, however, the greater reason for imploring your pardon, because I have not signed my name. The reason is, I wish to avoid notoriety. If there be any thing herein written worthy of praise, I am contented with my exertions, without the glory; if of censure, I am satisfied with my intentions, without the disgrace. Whatever harsh expressions there may be, they apply to none but those that seek the ruin of the country. *To them they do apply;* and when they have avowed their intentions, I shall not shrink from my responsibility.

From the great patron of these institutions I have ventured to differ. In a pamphlet which he has published, in the speeches* which he has made, his opinions are before your lordship. In this pamphlet I am presumptuous enough to oppose his doctrine, and, if I am not mistaken, to expose the fallacy of his reasoning. I have appealed to your lordship as judge, and I throw myself on my country for their verdict. He is all learning, I am all ignorance. There is scarcely

* In some of those speeches, Mr. Brougham is reported to have said, "that the very thing he wants, is to see the operatives treading on the heels of their superiors." Annoying as such a practice will be, he will have the goodness, I hope, to direct, that they stop there; that is, that he will not encourage them to *trip us up.*

a science he is unacquainted with—scarcely a science I am acquainted with. He is a great statesman—a great lawyer—a great linguist: I am neither one nor the other. If your lordship, when you have dispelled from your eyes the mist which has hitherto deceived you, and induced you to patronize the meetings of these operatives, shall decide in Mr. Brougham's favor, I shall bow with submission to your decree, and devote my attention to "algebra and geometry," "mechanical philosophy and chemistry," "mathematics, astronomy, and geology," "moral and political philosophy," (studies which the learned gentleman recommends to the working classes) to distinguish right from wrong, virtue from vice, content from discontent. But, if your lordship shall decide in my favor, I shall feel sufficiently rewarded by hearing you have withdrawn your support, which cannot fail to convince the country, that it is not learning alone that makes a better subject or a better man.

Aikin, in his beautiful description of the hill of science, to which I beg your lordship's attention, makes virtue say, "science may lead you to eminence, but I alone can guide you to felicity." The whole allegory made such an impression on me that I thought I could not do less than appeal to so upright and well meaning a nobleman, as I have always understood your lordship to be; and

do my best to put the people on their guard, lest (to borrow Mr. Brougham's quotation), "they be tossed to and fro by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive."

I have the honor to be,

Your Lordship's

Humble Servant,

A COUNTRY GENTLEMAN.

LONDON,
January 2nd, 1826.

P. S.—Since writing the above, I find, and it is no more than might be expected, that that amiable gentleman, Mr. Carlile, is Mr. Brougham's very honorable associate, and very meritorious co-operator, in this "beautiful system of"—Philosophy!!!—Vide that very respectable publication, *The Republican.*

APPENDIX.

The following specimens are extracted from the works of the "modern" French Philosophers, to throw some light on their principles.

On Government.

"L'inégalité des conditions étant un droit barbare—aucune sujettion naturelle dans laquelle les hommes sont nés à l'égard de leur père ou de leur prince, n'a jamais été regardée comme un lien qui les oblige sans leur propre consentement à se soumettre à eux."—*Encyclopédie, Discours Préliminaire. — Idem, au mot Gouvernement.*

"The inequality of conditions being a barbarous right—any natural subjection in which men are born in relation to their parent or their prince, has never been considered as a tie which is obligatory, without their own consent to be under subjection to them."

"Les princes peu contens de la primauté, ont voulu donner des loix, et on le leur a sottement permis."—*L'Asiatiq. Tolerant.*

"Princes, far from being content with the primacy, have been desirous of legislating, and this has foolishly been conceded them."

"Sitôt qu'on peut désobéir impunément, on le peut legitement."—*Contrat Social.*

"As soon as disobedience can be exercised with impunity, it can be exercised lawfully."

On God.

"La divinité n'est autre chose qu'une vaste machine, et sous le nom de laquelle nous

"The Deity is nothing but a vast machine, and under the name of which we (we philoso-

(nous philosophes) désignons l'assemblage des matières agissantes, en raison de leur propre energie."—*Systême de la Nature.*

phers—we men of science), designate the combination of active matter, on account of its peculiar energy."

" L'existence de Dieu est le plus grand et le plus envenimé de tous nos préjuges."—*Liberté de Penser.*

" The existence of God is the greatest and most inveterate of all our prejudices."

" L'Athéisme est le seul systême qui puisse conduire l'homme à la liberté, au bonheur."—*Systême de la Nature.*

" Atheism is the only system which can conduct men to freedom, to happiness."

On Christianity.

" La religion n'est qu'un amas de notions ridicules et contradictoires—un systême de conduite inventé par l'imagination et par l'ignorance. C'est le fruit de l'imposture, de l'enthousiasme, et de la crainte."—*Christianisme Dev.*

" Religion is merely a mass of ridiculous and contradictory notions—a system of conduct invented by imagination and ignorance. It is the fruit of imposture, enthusiasm, and fear."

" La loi Chrétienne est au fond plus nuisible qu'utile à la forte constitution d'un état."—*Contrat Social.*

" The Christian law is, at bottom, more injurious than beneficial to the solid constitution of a state."

" Le plan de Jesus Christ est au dessous de celui de Mahomet, dont les vües étoient très-saines."

" The scheme of Jesus Christ is below that of Mahomet, the views of which were very sound."

" Jupiter vaut mieux que le Dieu des Chrêtiens."—*Milit. Philos.*

" Jupiter is much preferable to the God of the Christians."

Their Moral Code is precisely such as the preceding quotations would lead us to expect.

" Par rapport à la félicité, le

" With respect to happiness,

bien et le mal sont indifférens; et celui qui aura une plus grande satisfaction à faire le mal, sera plus heureux, que quiconque en aura moins à faire le bien."—*Disc. sur la Vie Heureuse.*

" Il n'y a ni vice ni vertu, ni bien ni mal moral, ni juste ni unjuste; tout est arbitraire et fait de main d'homme."—*Ibid.*

" Dès que le vice rend l'homme heureux, il faut aimer le vice.

" La vraie philosophie n'admet qu'une félicité temporelle; elle séme les fleurs et les roses sur les pas, et nous apprend à les cueillir."—*Livre de l'Esprit.*

" Le crime qui nous paroît le plus affreux, devient louable et nécessaire, lorsque le besoin du meilleur nous y oblige."—*Pyronisme du Sage.*

" Les hommes sont fous, quand ils se sont persuadés qu'il étoit beau de résister à l'amour, et honteux d'y succomber. Suivre ses désirs, c'est le seul moyen de s'affranchir de leur importunité."—*Livre de l'Esprit.*

good and bad are indifferent, and he who shall have a greater satisfaction in doing evil, will be more happy than he who shall have a less degree of it in doing good."

" There is neither vice nor virtue, good nor bad morals, just nor unjust; all is arbitrary, and fabricated by the hand of man."

" So long as vice renders man happy, vice must be loved."

" True philosophy admits a temporal felicity only; she sows flowers and roses in our path, and teaches us to gather them."

" The crime which appeared to us most frightful, becomes laudable and necessary, when the absence of any better resource obliges us to it."

" Men are fools when they suffer themselves to be persuaded that it is decent to resist love, and shameful to give way to it. To follow our desires is the only means of ridding ourselves of their importunity."

On Filial Duty.

" Quelle foiblesse de pleurer la mort du père! sa mort est comme celle de tout autre in-

" What weakness to bewail the death of a father. His death is as that of every other

dividu. C'est une suite nécessaire de l'arrangement de l'univers. Un père, en donnant la vie à son fils, n'a pensé qu'à lui-même et à ses plaisirs. Lui tenir compte de ce prétendu bienfait, c'est le remercier de ses soupés voluptueux et des liqueurs excellentes qu'il a bues." —*Vie Heureuse.*

individual. It is a necessary consequence of the arrangement of the universe. A father, in giving life to his son, thought only of himself and his pleasure. To make him any return for this pretended benefit, is to thank him for the rich soups and excellent liquors which he has drank."

Gratitude they make out to be equally as absurd and unphilosophical as filial-love.

" Un homme n'oblige que parce qu'il sent du plaisir à obliger. Quelle bizarrerie d'imaginer que l'on doit savoir gré à un homme qui est fait et organisé, pour être liberal. C'est à peu près comme si je le remerciois quand il va au bal parce qu'il aime la danse. Sa folie est vouloir obliger, ou c'est la vanité qui le fait agir."—*Vie Heureuse.*

A man only obliges, because he feels a pleasure in obliging. What stupidity to imagine oneself under an obligation to a man who is made and organized to be liberal. It is almost as if I were to thank him when he went to a ball, because he liked dancing. His folly is to wish to oblige, or else it is vanity that makes him do it."

Nor must we omit to afford a specimen of the Toleration likely to be extended towards those who presume to differ from them.

" Ceux qui voudront réprimer les philosophes, ne sont que des hommes pervers, des fanatiques, des méchans, ou des foux, leur religion n'est que démenie, folie, enthousiasme, fanatisme, superstition, imagination déréglée, ignorance, infamie, stupidité, imposture."—*Système de la Nature.*

" Those who would oppose the philosophers are nothing but a set of obstinate fellows, fanatics, scoundrels, or fools; their religion is nothing but idiocy, folly, enthusiasm, fanaticism, superstition, a disordered imagination, ignorance, infamy, stupidity, imposture."

The leader of this pernicious sect is reported to have made the following boast: it ought to open the eyes of the British public.

" Notre berçeau fut un caffé. Cinq ou six hommes de lettres, sans consideration, sans crédit, voilà notre premier peuple. Pour se rendre les maîtres de l'univers, il fallut de siècles aux Romains. Pour remplir le même objet, trente ans ont suffi à la philosophie."

" Our cradle was a coffee-house. In five or six literary men, of no consideration, and without influence, behold our primary people. It required ages to make the Romans masters of the world; to accomplish the same object, thirty years have been sufficient for philosophy ! ! !"

ERRATUM.

Page 48, lines 23 and 24, erase the word " *required.*"

J. M'Creery, Tooks Court,
Chancery, Lane, London.

REPRINT

OF

MR. CAMPBELL'S LETTER

TO

MR. BROUGHAM,

ON THE SUBJECT OF A

LONDON UNIVERSITY,

WHICH APPEARED IN "THE TIMES" OF FEB. 9.

TOGETHER WITH

SUGGESTIONS

WHICH APPEARED IN THE APRIL NUMBER OF THE NEW MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

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REPRINT

OF THE

LETTER TO HENRY BROUGHAM, ESQ.

Which appeared in "The Times" Newspaper, on the 9th of Feb.

MY DEAR BROUGHAM,

I RETURN you thanks for your practical observations on the education of the people, and for the services which you are rendering to society. I consider the education of the working classes to be now a triumphant cause: but you have anticipated me in remarking that improvement should not stop here. When the poor are becoming instructed, it is time that their employers also should rise in the scale of instruction. The possession of power can by no possibility be disjoined from the possession of money; but how pitiful and odious is mere pecuniary power, unconnected with moral influence and mental ascendancy. The middling rich—that is, all above the working classes and beneath the enormously rich—form a momentously important mass of society. A portion of this mass consists indeed, of professional men, who must always be highly educated: but it is desirable that all portions of it should be well-educated. If money (as it undeniably is) be the means of influence, wherever there is money there ought to be cultivated intellect; and the education that is to keep the most influential body of the people liberal in their opinions, solid in their information, and respectably intellectual in their tastes and pursuits, that education is of a consequence which cannot be overrated. It is very well to laugh at the ignorant wealthy, whether they be in high or low life, for they are lawful objects of ridicule; but they are quite as just objects of regret: for ignorant opulence is to the full as prejudicial as ignorant poverty. Wealth, whether small or great, should always be connected with instruction, and the great means of attaining this end is to have proper public institutions of education. There is no educating system, to be sure, which can now make enormously rich individuals wise and well-informed in proportion to their wealth; there is no making heads as capacious as purses; but still it is both desirable and practicable that intellectual accomplishments should be more widely diffused than they are at present over myriads who are wealthy in comparison with the labouring classes.

Does a little knowledge make the poor more virtuous and industrious? then a greater degree of it ought to have the same influence on the rich, (I here use the term relatively). The tendency of knowledge is to correct vice and idleness, by furnishing mental resources of amusement. But greater knowledge and more various mental resources are necessary for the rich than for the poor; for the evil temptations of wealth are really stronger than those of poverty. A little wealth will afford many means for debasing or stupifying gratifications, and the rich can always find time for them; but the poor man's time is very limited, as well as his means; and if he seeks for money to get those means unfairly, it is at his peril. If poverty leads him into vice, it is therefore with a halter about his neck, and at the hazard of what is gently phrased taking air and exercise, that is, being whipped at a cart's tail. There are no such penalties attached to wealthy indulgences: they may be lawfully immoral, and are attainable, concealable, and held comparatively venial. Sense of character, no doubt, sets bounds to appearances; but if taste and mental cultivation could also be called into the aid of virtue, I ap-

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peal to you, why should they be neglected? We shall be told, perhaps, that some of the rich find innocent amusements, whilst others are absorbed in the accumulation of more money; but it still remains for an answer, that ignorant or frivolous minds, possessing money, and therefore influencing society, have every chance of being banefully influential. Is it desirable that any being should have the welfare of his fellow-creatures partially at his disposal, who has not a thought beyond lucre, or who is destitute of all capacity for intellectual enjoyments? No. There may be exceptions; but ignorant wealth must tend to promote ignorance and bad taste. The opulent vulgar disseminate vulgarity, and the opulent vicious diffuse vice, in proportion to their money and means of gratification. Let me not seem to speak invidiously of the rich, or of London, when I express these truths. Nothing is likely to be further from any reasonable mind than a general disrespect for the comfortable classes of our community. There is an universal quickness and activity in the English metropolitan mind, joined to the indigenous humanity of the English character. Our capital contains also, besides all that is pre-eminent in professional talent, a greater number of well informed citizens than any capital in the world. To say that more knowledge is desirable, is not to deny that much already exists. But, nevertheless, London contains the greatest assemblage in the world of those small comfortable trading fortunes which place their owners in a station where intellectual accomplishments can be too easily dispensed with. There is such a thing as wealthy ignorance in London, which cares not for being laughed at. The sum of this ignorance, or rather of uneducated talent, may be greatly exaggerated by ridicule; but why should it exist at all? There are prejudices, too, (be it spoken without offence) against a man of business amusing himself with literature and science. As an instance that falsifies this prejudice, I wish I could name, without appearing to be personal and indelicate, an individual known to us both, who is on many subjects, one of the best informed men in the kingdom. That highly respectable man rose to his present independence by sheer industry. He wrought many a year as a journeyman workman—struggled with many difficulties, and had a numerous family; yet, amidst all his difficulties, he educated his children well, and taught himself several sciences and languages. He has now retired from business with a competent fortune, sits in a library of his own purchasing, that contains many thousand volumes, and is devoting the rest of his life to his favourite studies. That highly laudable person, and others who could be mentioned, show that a man may rise to fortune even amidst intellectual pursuits; but how few men of business have really been, or are likely ever to be ruined by study; and how many have been made bankrupts by habits which reading and study tend to avert! The ultra spirit of speculation, I verily believe, arises from a superfluous activity of mind, which would be less intense if the mercantile men diverted their leisure hours more frequently to liberal studies and amusements.

Let us recall, then, the undeniable truth, that knowledge has increased among the poor, that it will increase, and that its increase neither can nor ought to be prevented. Then, let us put the query—Is it desirable that the knowledge of the rich should increase in proportion to that of the poor? I think we shall scarcely hear a negative returned to the question. With regard to London, the most important place of the empire, let us ask if all the better class, i. e. above mechanics, are as well educated as they might be? That is the great point of consideration. It may be that all the means of education are, by some means or other, to be got at in London: but a man would wear out his shoes in trudging about to explore them. Private tuition is dear to the purse, and dulling to the spirit. We shall be told, no doubt, of finishing academies, where a youth can be made all accomplished as cheaply as he could live in his father's house. I expect a dozen of letters from the keepers of academies to tell me so. But let them not be alarmed. My project, if adopted, would do them good, and would bring them more pupils

to prepare for a new university. Meanwhile let it suffice to say, that no academy can answer the purposes of a well founded university Lastly, we have lecturing institutions; but these are for grown people, and I am speaking of the education of youth. Institutions for lectures are in general too theatrical, and youth is not to be so taught. An hundred institutions without examinations would not educate our youth.

The plan which I suggest is a great London University. Not a place for lecturing to people of both sexes (except as an appendage to the establishment), but for effectively and multifariously teaching, examining, exercising, and rewarding with honours, in the liberal arts and sciences, the youth of our middling rich people, between the age of fifteen or sixteen, and twenty, or later if you please. By the middling rich I mean all between mechanics and the enormously rich. There is a class beneath regular industry, which is called the worst, and one above considerable wealth, which is courteously denominated the best rank. But there is sometimes a similarity in the frailties of those highest and lowest superlative classes, which seems to verify the proverb that extremes meet.

I propose, for the youth of this momentous mass of society in London, a place worthy of our gigantic metropolis, and suited to the circumstances of the times. Such a place of full and diversified instruction as should merit to be called an University—an establishment availing itself of all the experience and experiments that can be appealed to for facilitating the art of teaching—an university combining the advantages of public and private education, the emulative spirit produced by examination before numbers, and by honours conferred before the public, the cheapness of domestic residence, and all the moral influence that results from home. The very name of home fills the mind with associations of virtuous influence. I have seen both fathers and mothers indifferent to the well-doing of their children, because it is possible for people in the strictest physical sense to have had children without ever having been parents. But I never saw a youth with virtuous parents and sisters, who had not a dread and shame to be thought flagitious in their opinion. It has been alleged that the health and morals of youth would suffer by an education in London: but many a family in London cannot send their sons out of it, whether it be wholesome or not. And is London really unwholesome except for mere children? Let any one enter a chop-house or ordinary, and he will observe (I think) the veritable lads of London dining with as hearty symptoms of health and appetite as the youth at any tables in the Three Kingdoms. I have heard as much of the stunted growth of the Londoners as of the great height of the Scotch Highlanders; but if I can trust my own eyes, the Londoners generally are a taller people than our mountaineers; and to quote the young men of this metropolis as an infirm race, would be an utter absurdity. For their morals I cannot speak, but I take it they are pretty much on a par with those of the youth in all towns whatsoever, and I would ask, if the means of dissipation exist not notoriously in other places than London?

But as to their health—supposing a metropolitan university to exist, and that the youths studied five days in the week, a whole holiday on Saturday, and a ramble into the country, methinks, would recruit them quite as well as if they were sent to Cambridge itself to recruit their appetite for food and virtue. On the days of study, they might breakfast early at home, and return, after receiving instruction for several hours, always by daylight, to their parents' houses. As they could not study for six hours at college without intermission, the chief difficulty would be to find a place for their resort during the intervals; and this circumstance would require the University to have roomy, and therefore expensive premises. But if public spirit were once awakened, all difficulties and expenses would be surmounted. All that would be necessary would be, to have some porticos and large halls, independent of the lecture rooms, to which they might resort for relaxation; and, although these were close to the places of teaching, yet, by proper means, all

noisy recreations might be prohibited. They would thus have to perambulate London only twice a day, and that during daylight. Their parents might know how every minute of every day of their life was employed. Evening lectures might be given on popular subjects to people of maturer age. The Germans had, at one time, a strong prejudice against the existence of an university in a capital town; but they now find the students of Berlin and Vienna the most regular-living youth in all Germany.

To build and endow a London University would cost, I imagine, 100,000*l.* It might contain thirty professors or more, the most of whom would maintain themselves by small fees from the students, though a few professorships would require salaries. Two thousand families subscribing fifty pounds a-piece would raise that sum. A youth could surely travel daily two miles to his studies. Place the University centrically, and you would thus give it a surrounding circle of London population four miles in breadth, and twelve in circumference. How many families in that space would patronize the scheme remains to be tried; but, deducting largely for houses who have no sons for Universities, a vast number would still be found willing to postpone sending their boys to business or professions for the sake of some years of good education.

In the mass of families whose incomes vary from some hundreds to two or three thousand a year, what a serious cost is education. Cambridge and Oxford are, of course, out of the question with one half of them. But say a man has 1000*l.* a year, he can hardly send one son to an English University. To send three sons, would cost him at the least 750*l.* If there were a London University, the board of each son, in his own house, might be forty-five pounds a-year, his clothing and pocket-money twenty-five pounds, and his education at a London University, on a plan perfectly practicable, would not need to exceed, by any computation, twenty-five or thirty pounds; in all 100*l.* An Oxford University education given to three sons, would thus leave a man of 1000*l.* a year, 250*l.* for himself and his wife and daughters to subsist upon. The London scheme would leave him 700*l.*

Instead, therefore, of discussing what Oxford and Cambridge are or ought to be, the people of London should settle what sort of University they wish for, and it will be their own fault alone if it does not exist. It may be said that fifty pounds is a serious sum for a middling-circumstanced family to give away, as the price of a mere privilege. It is for men of influence to inspire the people with different sentiments. What incomparably larger sacrifices are made every day to objects less important than intellectual character. I beg pardon if I make an error in so grave a matter of history, as the price of the periwigs of our forefathers; but I think I have heard that a full-bottomed British periwig once cost fifty pounds. Revive the fashion, and 100,000*l.* would instantly leap from the pockets of middling gentility, in order to save cast, by investing the "human head divine" in those absurdities. But fashion has now happily altered to decorating the inside more than the outside of the skull.

People have talked to me of the difficulty of establishing discipline in an University. I declare I think I can speak of Glasgow College impartially, though I was its *alumnus;* for I know that it had many imperfections. But I was there seven years, and an insubordinate student, or a tyrannical professor, I never saw. In some few classes, slight fines prevented lateness, absence, and bad behaviour; in others, decorum and silence seemed to come of their own accord; and the Irish were among the most orderly students. I care not what the powers of the professors of that University may be according to old statutes, I argue upon the power which they really needed to exercise, and that was nothing more than to summon an offending student before the *Senatus Academicus*, to mulct him in a very trifling fine, or to rebuke him; if that failed, he might be expelled—but expulsion was a punishment unknown in my recollection. Who would fear giving the professors of any University a power so little liable to abuse? At the venerable

Professor Jardine's class, in Glasgow, I remember the students were made to revise the themes of each other; this is but one of many methods which could be adopted to facilitate education on a great scale. I am convinced, that by a skilful method, five hundred students could be taught in one class as easily as fifty. If London will listen to this project, the subscribers could elect an organizing committee; and that committee might have all the experience and wisdom of the country to suggest what it would be best to avoid, and what to imitate, in existing universities. If my opinion were thought worth hearing, I should support the system of teachers lecturing an hour every day, for nine months in the year, and examining the students for two hours daily. I should advise, also, an annual distribution of prizes; and such an august spectacle in a London University, would light up a generous emulation in every youthful breast, and stamp an improved character on the rising generation. I trust you will gain over men of every variety of opinion to this design. It is no matter of party-politics, or of church-and-state disputation. It is a point of union for all the friends of liberal views; and, as the prophet Isaiah says, "The liberal deviseth liberal things, and by liberal things shall he stand."

I had thought much of this project before the last time that I had the pleasure of seeing you. It gave me unspeakable satisfaction when I mentioned it, to learn that you, and other enlightened men who were present, had often considered it to be a design both desirable and attainable. How soon it may be fit for yourself and other men of strong influence to propose it to the public, I leave to your and their determination; but in the mean time, I cannot think that I shall have injured the cause by offering the mite of my suggestion, before you and they have brought forward the fund of potent opinions.

I am, my dear Brougham,

Yours, very truly,

T. CAMPBELL.

SUGGESTIONS RESPECTING THE PLAN OF AN UNIVERSITY IN LONDON.

A DAY or two after the publication of a letter which I addressed to Mr. Brougham, on the subject of a London University, I received a message from a man of distinguished public character, pledging himself to raise 100,000*l.* for the project, and requesting me to draw up a plan for the establishment. Many other individuals, of substantial influence and respectability, have honoured me with the same request. I certainly think that it would be better for one person to prepare a digested plan of an university, which should be afterwards subjected to the revision and correction of a committee, than for a crowd of plans to be presented together:—but the commission for such an undertaking is of grave importance, and I should not think myself justified in setting about it unless I had a more general expression of consent from the public.

I think, however, that I shall do no injury to the success of the scheme by offering a few farther suggestions as to its propriety:—and the first suggestion which I take the liberty of making to its well-wishers is, to implore them not to take it up either with the outward aspect or inward feeling of party spirit. The cause has, or at least it ought to have, no connexion with politics; and whatever such connexion you give it, will be doing it a gratuitous injury. I have remarked, with regret, in some newspapers, that an university in the metropolis is demanded, on account of the alleged abuses of existing universities. Now, we demand it on no such account. The universities cannot help being distant from London. As little can they help its being possible for a youth to be maintained with the same comfort more cheaply at home, than where others have to profit by his board and lodging;—and they are equally blameless for the impossibility of preventing other and more serious evils, which naturally result, in spite of all human care, from young men being crowded together, at a distance from home, and removed from the wholesome restraints of domestic influence and endearment. Add to this, that the universities are overstocked, and in point of fact inaccessible to the middling classes of London. If then a body of Londoners were to associate and agree to petition Parliament for a charter to endow a great place of education, what language would it become them to address to Parliament?—Not surely a string of complaints against the two venerable abodes of English learning!—You could not assemble a small, much less a great body of London citizens, without meeting the most opposite opinions respecting the mode of education pursued at Oxford and Cambridge. But thousands of the inhabitants of London, I believe, agree in this point, that those places are too dear for their purses; and that it would be convenient if London had a cheaper and nearer place of education.—Wherefore, then, mix up this plain fact with either praise or blame of the two universities? It is unwise, unnecessary, and unjust. I even dislike predenominating the establishment an university on the Scottish plan. It has nothing in common with the Scottish universities, but the circumstances of the professors being chiefly maintained by fees from their pupils, and the youth being able to reside at home. But even at the Scottish universities the students are often from the country, and lodge in town, (an un-

favourable circumstance); whereas London is sufficient to supply domesticated students, and we have a place better fitted than any Scottish town, to enjoy the benefits of united domestic and public education. Besides, the Scottish universities are, in certain respects, very defective, whilst the English and foreign universities are, in some points, more to be imitated than ours of the North. Let us abstain then from blending either polemic or national feelings with this proposal. What people are to say or think about Cambridge or Oxford, we (the friends of the scheme) have no right to dictate. But if it be true that an university would be desirable in London, let that important truth rest simply on its own foundations, and let it not be pettishly deduced as a corollary from charges adduced against Oxford and Cambridge. If those universities were even cheap places, they are still overstocked and of inconvenient access to the Londoners.

I now address myself not so much to the friends of the scheme, as to those who think unfavourably of it, or who may not have thought of it at all. The sanguine friends of the proposal tell me, that they consider all the objections urged against it as too ridiculous to be answered. I certainly regard the arguments of our opponents as very light; but still there are some of them connected with prejudices which are too pernicious to deserve the compliment of being treated with levity.

I have been asked, in the first place, if there are not plenty of places already existing for educating men for the learned and liberal professions. My answer is, that thousands who have not the honour of belonging to those professions, are nevertheless desirous of knowledge and education. The objecting question itself implies an opinion that if you educate the priest and lawyer and physician WELL, you need not trouble yourself farther about the liberal education of society. Bacon however has said, "*that man is but what he knows*;" and in this metropolis, from its enlightened bishop, inclusively, down to its intelligent mechanic, there is a general persuasion that man is elevated by knowledge and degraded by ignorance. At the same time the persuasion is still too far from being universal. I have spoken with men, themselves well educated, who have told me that a little learning is a dangerous thing, and have objected to the scheme because half-educated men are more apt to have crude notions than men not educated at all.

Before I admit the bad effects of a little learning and of half-education, I must know what is meant by those terms. If you mean by half-education, a man having been well taught only half the things that can be learnt, I should be glad to be entitled to-morrow to the denomination. But if you mean a smattering in many branches of knowledge without a tolerable knowledge of any one branch, I grant that crude ideas will be the probable result of such learning. Recollect, however, that this is not to be HALF-EDUCATED; it is to be MIS-EDUCATED, and we are proposing no place of such MIS-EDUCATION. On the contrary, we propose a place where a man may be THOROUGHLY and CHEAPLY grounded in any single branch of learning or science, or in as many branches as he may choose. A great many prejudices on the subject of education arise from confounding two things, essentially different, namely, a scattered and confused acquisition of knowledge, and a small degree of knowledge properly acquired. A man may

have a great deal of confused information in science, and yet be a worse reasoner, on that account, than one who simply knows the multiplication table; and he may know a Babelish confusion of languages with less advantages, than one language completely. But dabblers are most apt to abound in places where men have leisure and curiosity, whilst they are without the proper means of education. To own the truth, I should prefer any imperfect mode of education to the total want of it among any class of men. Imperfect knowledge will, at the worst, only enable persons who would talk nonsense, at all events, to talk it a little more consequentially. If there be any cure for such an evil, it is a great place of sound education. Establish an university in the metropolis, and if there were numerous students, every thing worth knowing might there be taught on the cheapest terms. All exclusion on account of age and condition would be improper, yet the poorer class, who must go to labour early in life, could not be included in the benefits of this plan. It would be adapted to the circumstances of all that class of society whose incomes extend from 400*l.* or 500*l.* a-year, to nearly as many thousands. Its advantages would therefore extend down to the son of the less opulent master tradesman; and supposing such a tradesman able only to give his son a year's education, is it not evident that *that* year might be profitably spent? By proper contrivances the courses of teaching might be kept up all the year round, and in one year surely some one language or science may be competently learnt.

It is a vestige of barbarism in our language that learning only means, in its common acceptation, a knowledge of the dead languages and mathematics. I shall now, however, use it in the sense of *liberal* knowledge, or, I might say, of knowledge universally, for what kind of knowledge can be called illiberal? All knowledge is more or less useful. I have been asked if I would invite a shopkeeper to study Greek and Hebrew? I answer, that I cease to think of a man's keeping a shop, when he tells me that he believes in the immortality of his own soul, and in a book concerning his eternal salvation, written originally in Greek and Hebrew. Nay, it fills me with wonder that any human believer should be without a wish to know the original text of that book. But, setting Greek and Hebrew out of the question, there are many branches of liberal knowledge almost requisite to certain vocations, although the etiquette of language obliges us to call those vocations trades, and not professions. By the way, in our trading nation, this distinction is so fine, that I own it eludes my comprehension. Let the mercer give me his stuffs for nothing, and I will confess his vocation to be liberal. Let the physician give me prescriptions for his stuffs gratis, and I shall think the same. But the physician sells his prescriptions—the priest his exhortations—and the lawyer his eloquence; whilst I am obliged to call this sale not a trade, but a liberal profession. We are all traders, and I am inclined to call those professional men *the tradesmen, who have the fewest bad debts.* I know I shall be told that certain professions are liberal, because they require or suppose a liberal education. If so, I would implore society to allow two trades to be transferred immediately to the list of learned professions—I mean those of Publishers and Printers, for in no vocations can liberal knowledge be of more importance. Even as matters stand, publishing booksellers are the best and most natural friends of authors.

But an accomplished education would make them the friends of literary talent, with a great deal more discriminating liberality. If they were so, they would discourage mere book-making, and encourage originality. I do not deny that there are booksellers who do this, but it is not done sufficiently. Their education seldom enables them to have a cultivated taste. Sometimes attending more to the body and bulk than the spirit of books, they imagine that true literature can be manufactured cheaply. On this principle, they force a sale of second-rate works by mere strength of capital, instead of engaging men of higher powers in original enterprises.

I have put the question to several eminent booksellers, to what age a young man might continue his education consistently with learning the business; and they have generally answered to about eighteen.

Looking generally at the trades and businesses of middling life, it seems to me that the greater part of them might be learnt after the age of eighteen. The education of a vast mass of London youth is over at fourteen, and is very frequently stinted to this period, I believe, from the expensiveness of proper places of PUBLIC EDUCATION. Now here are four precious years, during which I have no more doubt, than of my own existence, that by adopting the improvements known and proved to be efficacious in teaching, you might make a young man either an accomplished scholar, or soundly imbued with the principles of science. I say either of those characters; for though I am far from inculcating the neglect of any attainable branch of knowledge, yet when the mind takes strongly to literature, it is apt to keep mainly to literary pursuits, and *vice versa*, when it is addicted to science. And I think it is right to follow the bias. I am not, however, prepared to contend this point very strongly, nor is it essential to my object. The main point is, to have a great and good place of education.

I have been told that we ought not to call the proposed place an University, but a School, because we do not intend to ask for a power of conferring degrees. But why call it by any other name than what it will deserve? I would have as few limitations as possible as to the age at which it should receive young men; and I speak of their quitting it at eighteen, only on the supposition of their being obliged to go to business. But let it be adapted to the studies of men beyond that age, and capable of instructing people as long as they wish to be instructed. Now a school generally means a seminary for mere boys, and an university means, both in common parlance and in the dictionary, not a place for getting degrees, but for getting instruction as universally as possible. If there be ridicule then in disputing about words, let it fall exclusively on those who would distort their etymology. I would by no means abandon the title.

In my letter to Mr. Brougham, I believe I made rather too low an estimate of the expense of building such an establishment. A friend, who has studied architecture, informs me, that he thinks it could not be well accomplished under £150,000. But, say that £200,000 were raised;—and what is that sum to wealthy London?—it would still require but £100 from each of the two thousand subscribers, to have the privilege of sending a son to the University. That is, in other words, £5 a-year,—for any creditable person can borrow money at

5 per cent.; and by making the shares transferable, a subscriber might sell his share, and get back his subscription-money the moment his son's education was at an end. In addition to this expense of 5*l.* a year, a few pounds a year would require to be given to each of the professors, whom the youth might attend. It can still be proved, however, that the entire expense of the youth's *ample* education, including even books, and the 5 per cent. for the borrowed subscription, would not exceed 30*l.* a year. The cost of his maintenance, clothing, and pocket-money, must of course be decided by the parents themselves; but it is evident that he will cost less at home than where others have profits on his board. He might walk every morning at least two good miles, after an early breakfast, to his classes; he might study a considerable number of hours in the morning, and return by daylight to a not very late dinner at home. His parents or friends might know to a certainty how he spent both his days and his evenings. Acquaintance at such day universities is much less intimate than at places where students board and lodge together; and if you attach importance to a young man's keeping company with those of his own station, you may leave the matter pretty safely to his own discretion. Again, as it is highly desirable that youth should associate at times on terms of hospitality, you could invite his companions to your own house, and without interfering with their happiness, you may see that it did not degenerate into intemperance.

As to the improvements in education, which might be introduced into this establishment, I abstain from describing, to the full extent, what I picture and firmly believe them to be in my own mind; for I might injure the cause by exposing myself, however unjustly, to the charge of enthusiasm. I will not, therefore, plead here for the Hamiltonian system. Indeed, it needs no advocate. But, taking infinitely more limited views of the economy of time in teaching languages than Mr. Hamilton has taken, and without reference to his system at all, it is still admitted, on all hands, that the Bell and Lancaster improvements, and others that could be named, have momentously advanced the science of education. It is no enthusiasm—it is nothing visionary to say, that four years of well-taught instruction now, are worth six or seven years of education on the old system. I cannot believe that any man who loves his son, and has the ambition of a father's heart for his boy's intellectual character, will grudge 100*l.* or a year or two from his apprenticeship, to place him in the rank of cultivated minds. "But you will find," said one, and only one, gentleman of my acquaintance to me, —"that the citizens of London care little about education, and will keep their money in their pockets." My belief that the people are any thing but indifferent about education, would not be shaken even by disappointment in this appeal. No, Londoners, I do not believe that you are careless on that subject, or that you will abstain from subscribing, from the love of money. I am not, to say the truth, unprepared for the scheme misgiving. On the contrary, we, for I speak in the name of many, are ready to anticipate and repel the reproach of eventual failure by this unanswerable allegation, that the scheme deserves success. But why should it fail then, this gentleman will ask, unless the Londoners be avaricious? Why there is no want of either enterprise or liberality in London; but it is a part of human

nature to be slow to act on new truths and principles, even after they have been acknowledged. Men hesitate, or are against a good proposal, of much novelty, at first; they believe in it after a time—and, finally, but often after long reflection, they adopt it.

Perhaps this process may fortunately not be tedious in the mind of our enlightened Capital, respecting this proposal. Let us discuss all that has been, or that can be alleged against the propriety of London being the seat of an university. Its unhealthiness has been objected to by a physician living in a country town. Without disrespect to that gentleman, the London physicians ought to be first consulted;—some of them have been consulted, and their opinion is very different. Indeed, it seems to me that the first persons who should be consulted are the Londoners themselves. There is something ludicrous in asking doctors, whether the youth who has probably been half his life in London, and will as probably spend the remainder also in town, is to be sick or healthy at a London university. If my Cheltenham medical friend will come to town, and ask as many of the Londoners as he pleases, how they and their families keep their health, I will confidently anticipate his receiving, in general, the same answer which the Irishman alleged the echo in his mother's garden returned to a similar question.

But, treating this objection perhaps a great deal more seriously than it deserved, I waited on a gentleman who has better tests for knowing the healthiness and mortality of London than any single physician can have, namely, Mr. Friend, of the Rock Insurance-office; and he gave me his opinion that the unhealthiness of London could not be held a valid objection to the establishment of an university. The removal of very young children into the country, I believe, may be often very salutary; but as we neither propose to bring students from the country, nor to establish an university for infants, the case of London agreeing with young men is not to be decided by infant nosology. Besides, the existence of four large schools of healthy boys in the heart of the metropolis, and the general health of a thousand students who walk the hospitals, are direct and clear refutations of the objection. I should be ashamed to notice the argument of the noise of London being unfavourable to study, unless I were anxious to answer all objections however frivolous. I know it by experience to be frivolous, and hundreds know it also, who carry on much more important operations of thought in the noisiest streets of London. Besides it would not be necessary to place the establishment in a noisy situation.

Yes, but London is immoral, say other objectors to the scheme. Recollect, I say again, that we are not proposing to bring your rustic innocents from the country, but to educate those youth of London, who, from the residence of their parents, must be in London more or less, and probably altogether, whether they are educated or not. They would therefore witness nothing at this university which must not meet them, either constantly or at intervals; and if at intervals, with greater danger than constantly. It has been suggested to place the university some miles out of London. But I deprecate the proposal altogether, of its being either in the country or a small town. The students would thus be obliged to board and lodge at a higher cost than their home maintenance, and it would involve all the trouble

of changing teachers into magistrates, and of organizing a code of discipline. The necessity for all that, is directly dispensed with, by making the establishment a day-university. Young men are the same in all countries; and the bad effects of crowding numbers of young men together in places of small population, have been made manifest, both in this and other countries. They assume an *esprit de corps*, and a bad collective character that may belong to few of the individuals. It is not natural for British boys to bully and insult the weak: take them separately, and there would not probably be one in a hundred that would not blush for cowardly cruelty; but give thoughtless lads the example, power, and opportunity of being tyrannical, and even the amiable will join in cruel frolics. I wish to exaggerate none of the consequences of placing large depôts of young men in small towns or villages; but I appeal to the inhabitants of Bonne or Heidelberg, how often they have felt the presence of the students to be a nuisance. Profitable to the tavern they may be, but not to the peace or purity of the neighbourhood. At Berlin and Vienna the students are orderly, for the best of all reasons, that they dare not give themselves airs—it would be so in London.

Besides, what would be the use of sending the young Londoners, say at the age of fourteen or fifteen, out of London? Is it to be out of harm's way? (as the phrase is.) I deny that they can be *even physically* out of harm's way. Have they known what vice is?—Yes, it possibly will be allowed, but they have had yet but little knowledge of it. People talk as if the knowledge of vice were a science like algebra:—on the contrary, it is a simple kind of knowledge, and, when once known, cannot be unlearned. The time, too, at which it may be learned depends on circumstances utterly beyond your power, either in town or country, to determine. It depends, in the greatest degree, on the child's own sagacity; and when that knowledge is once known, there it is in the heart, and beyond your physical reach—affecting the heart, ay! and the health and habits, in spite of all practicable human control. It defies your vigilance. This is a question, and an important one, about the effects of localities on vice and virtue. Meet it then like rational beings, not with the mere *truths that please you*, but with the *truths that are*. Does any man say that juvenile virtue is secured by locality after a simple knowledge of evil? I cannot think him sincere; if he be so, I can only say, that a knave intending to cant about morality, and to pervert the views of ignorant women into false systems of education, could not utter any thing better fitted for the purpose than to deny this truth, that the knowledge of vice, when once in the mind, is not to be got out of it by change of place, and must be counteracted by influencing the mind itself—its religion—its affections—and its modesty.

On the subject of preventing human vice, two systems have been practically acted upon, and a third has been *propounded*, which I shall not think proper to treat of at all, as although it has come, in many instances, from persons not suspected of libertinism, it is accused of tending to it. This theory is to take no heed about the matter, but to let the matter take care of itself. I address a public very unlikely to sanction the doctrine of permitting vice, or conniving at it, which is only a cowardly way of permitting it. But calling vice still vice, ac-

cording to its old meaning, I return to consider the two great means that have been employed to meet the evil, namely, physical and moral restraint. The first is physical restraint, including fear of punishment and separation from women. The separation of boys from being what is commonly termed out of harm's way, is in so far a moral restraint that they are put under moral teachers. But they are herded together, not simply to meet in a class-room, but to lodge and converse apart. Every body knows the proverb about one bad sheep, and thus you are gaining one moral influence at the expense of losing another, namely, domestic influence. In other respects, removing depôts of youth out of town, is nothing but physical restraint, and that of a most inadequate nature; for remember that to want opportunity, is not to want vice, except in the worst sense of the word want. Nor (as momentous truth is not to be paltered with) does it ensure the absence of vice at all. Monks and sailors and Turkish women have been subjected, in different ways, to the system of physical restraint, with pretty similar success as to their virtue. The Turkish system of restraint has, at least, the merit of being perfect in its kind, and of illustrating the best method of extinguishing the very sense of honour, whilst our confiding system in the treatment to women, makes them faithful, generally speaking, in the exact ratio of our confidence. The good effect of acting on confidence is shewn in the purity of our very fraternal affection. It is shewn in our delicacy towards women, and perhaps still more in our innocent gallantry. But it is most perfectly shewn when our conduct reminds them neither of their sex nor their beauty, but merely of their being agreeable human beings. How far this system of the treatment of women is still defective, and how much further it might be carried, not merely with impunity, but with benefit to virtue, is a question that would carry me out of my subject. But I cannot compliment our system in the treatment of the sex, without saying, at all hazards, that it is yet barbarously unlike what it should be. This, however, is a digression from my present point, which is to recommend the same system of confidence towards youth, which you find, imperfect as it is, beneficial to the honour of women. In fact, what is honour unless spontaneous? When I speak, however, of the benefits of treating young men with confidence, I by no means imply leaving them to their own discretion, or without precautions, that may be tacitly avowed, to a much greater extent, than any precaution (if there be any) which a man can take to secure female honour. To a son you ought to say, shun temptation; to a wife the exhortation would imply suspicion. Only the precautions even for guarding puerile virtue, in proportion as they are impalpable, are likely to be efficacious. It is no indelicate precaution to cause my boy to live in my own house, instead of being banished from my society, and to discourage his inviting companions of questionable character to his little fêtes and entertainments. At those I would not be a spy on his conversation. Neither is a general supervision of his books, and of his use of time, and of the nature of his amusements, a departure from the system of confidence, but the contrary; for there is a way of doing it that can make him my friend. Parents, in general, surely love their children, and their treatment of children has become not a little, but a great deal milder and more judicious within our own recollections.

If parents are conscious of being unfit for the guardianship of their own children, it is right that they should send them away. But unless they are themselves immoral, or absurd, or bad-tempered, they are the natural, and therefore ought to be the best guardians of their children's morality. It is good, however, some people say, for a young man to go from home and see the world; and so it may, if it be to travel. But is shutting him up at his studies in cloisters, sending him to see the world? No, it is rather shutting him out of it.

Place an University out of town, and you make it dearer. Build lodgings for the students, and unless you debar their meeting at each other's rooms, you permit at once a rivalship in conviviality to commence, from which your son must be debarred to his mortification, if you deny him the means of mixing in it, and in which if he does mix, you have no knowledge of his associates and conversation. I grant that this sending him away is acting on the confiding system, but it is acting on it in a wrong way. Granting the College Proctors, whom you appoint, to be the strictest and most conscientious; still, how poor is a proctor's influence to a father's, to a mother's, and to the purity of conversation ensured by the presence of sisters, and respectable friends. I wish to draw no exaggerated contrasts. I suggest not that your son's conversation with his comrades in a college-room would be always licentious, or his merry-makings dissolute. But can you deny that his conversation and conviviality are more unsafe amidst youthful associates in his own lodgings, than under his paternal roof? I desire not to magnify the evil of the separative system; but let me put the question in one sentence. Do men, and especially in convivial hours, speak so purely among themselves as in the company of women; and has habitual conversation no influence over moral feelings? If you ask me, whether even domestication will ensure juvenile virtue? I demand in answer, if you know of any system that will? I only recommend what I think the best. Are you decent yourself? then teach and shew the example of decency to your son. Are you religious? the Psalmist will tell you, that the means by which a young man is to purify his life, is not by shutting himself up in cloisters, but by meditating on the law of God. Train him then to that meditation, if you believe in its efficacy; and if a college acquaintance has taught him ribaldry or infidelity, lay no flattering unction to your soul, because you have sent him to study under a religious tutor, amidst the innocence and tranquillity of a small town. Can one but laugh at the inconsistency of men, who talk of the innocence of country towns? If printing can convey vicious knowledge, there is no rustication that can snatch any child, who can read, from knowing that which may contaminate him. And when he gets the dangerous knowledge, which he may get from every village newspaper, the solitude and the country give actually more opportunities of vice, than the town—yes, than that town, where there are, no doubt, chances of vice, but where your influence exists also, to counteract them. A man confessing that a college proctor can make his son more religious than he can make him himself, gives but a poor account of his religion. As to country and town, one single circumstance levels, at one blow, all distinction with respect to the chance of any reading being, escaping, in either from acquaintance with vice; and that is, the publication of newspapers. It matters not to say that

this cannot be remedied, or that it is a general good. It is sufficient for my argument that it is a fact. There is no such thing as the country in England with regard to ignorance of evil. The Turks strangle their women for infidelity; but our newspapers do worse, they strangle at a blow the modesty of a thousand readers. That they work no more actual immorality than they do, shews the effect of the CONFIDING SYSTEM. No thanks to the newspapers; but this is the main fountain of immodest knowledge, and whether it be curable or not, it must continue, whilst it deluges town and country alike, to equalize all localities as to acquaintance with evil.

I have heard the amusements which are to be found in London alleged against the propriety of its being the place of an University. Now to me they seem a strong argument the opposite way. It would be as rational to argue against education in London, from the existence of hospitals where contagious fevers may be caught, as from dissipated places of pleasure chiefly frequented by the wealthy classes of the profligate. Do the sons of decent families in middling life frequent the hells and the little-goes? But there are other bad places, it may be said. Then you have, surely, some moral power to prevent his frequenting them.—Yes, but, it will be argued, I cannot eradicate his passions; to moderate them is all that can be hoped for. True! But do you ensure this moderation, by sending him into the country, or into a country town? Remember, the physical suppression of practical vice is ensured by no locality; and as to moral restraint, do you call dismissing a son from your own society, to herd with the young, the thoughtless, and for aught you know, the profligate, the means of teaching him modesty? Remember also that there are innocent amusements in London; and I would earnestly warn all men, thinking or willing to think on this subject, not to confound the idea of amusement and vice. Amusement is a refuge from vice; and the various innocent attractions of the capital are so many means which a father possesses of relieving and rewarding his son's fatigues of study, and of sharing in his very pleasures. Take your boy with you to the theatre, and that amusement would be cheaper, if monopoly were not still the great blotch on the face of our institutions. Let him be happy in the evening, if he has studied sufficiently in the day; and he will study sufficiently if you give him teachers and not task-masters, who save themselves from trouble by imposing the burthen of education on their scholars. Regulate generously and wisely your son's amusements, and the facility of finding amusements in London will be in your hands an engine of moral influence. In many respects London is a place of residence not to be exchanged with impunity for smaller places. Where is there the same exemption from personal hatred on account of opinion, and the same acuteness of intellects produced by collision? I return to my position, that the union of domestic and public is the best kind of education, and that London is the place best fitted for enjoying that advantage.

I therefore exhort the inhabitants of London to apply to Parliament for the simplest charter which they require for this purpose; namely, for the right to sue and to be sued as a corporate body. I exhort the friends of the plan to give it the name of an University—to divide it into two colleges—one for science, another for literature, and to sepa-

rate the proposal, as far as may be, from all polemical and party and national spirit. The affair, in fact, rests with yourselves. Parliament could not well refuse a charter for a degreeless university to a number of Londoners sufficient to wish for it, and to found it. Will it make you seditious? No; sedition belongs to men without property, and you are as likely to rise one fine morning and to agree to drown yourselves in the Thames, as to disturb the peace of society. Will it make you insolent, as tradesmen? No; for interest makes a tradesman civil, and knowledge will only prevent your civility from being servile.

The main part of this question seems to be, whether the education of the mercantile and trading part of this community is to be neglected, because there are already places for training men to the learned professions. Is the education of a merchant and tradesman, then, of no account? Are the sweets of science to be denied them? Are the gates of knowledge to be shut upon them? Or rather, are they to deny themselves those sweets, and to shut those gates upon themselves? All this will be done by those who discourage an University in London.

Let the inhabitants of the metropolis be asked, if they wish for the realization of this scheme? Some persons say, that they are a mere money-loving generation. If this be false, men of London, refute it by your conduct. I invoke you by your general character for spirit, sagacity, and liberality—by your being the largest influential class of English society—by your being the metropolitans of a people whose navies command the deep, and whose strength worsted Napoleon—I invoke you by your numerous population of 1,300,000—a nation within itself, to found an establishment worthy of your greatness. The Turks have no university, but every other great city of Europe, excepting London and the Turkish capital, has; and the fishing-town of St. Andrew's possesses what London ought to possess.

I have mentioned the New Road as a convenient locality for this establishment. Its situation, however, must of course be determined by the residence of the majority of the eventual subscribers. I have suggested also the laying out the whole sum that may be raised, on building and keeping open the establishment, without endowing the professorships with salaries; not that I should propose them all to continue unendowed. It would be useful to teach several branches of knowledge, which might nevertheless attract too few students to repay the professors without exacting large fees, and that would be against a main principle of the establishment. But I calculate on future benefactions being adequate to endow such chairs as would come under that description. In the mean time you might begin with teaching only the branches of learning that would repay the teachers; and these are many. To say what they ought to be, is to anticipate the decision of the subscribers. They know best what they wish their sons to learn. If they want a little advice on the subject, it is time enough to offer it when they ask it.

It seems to me that the professorships should be all made to continue during good behaviour. Lectureships are apt to degenerate when a man has no permanent interest in the reputation of the institution which employs him, and when he makes a new bargain for his hire every

season. But give him a nomination, which from its nature is honourable, and at the same time a sense of security, that whilst he deserve students, he shall have them, and he will continue to make a bargain from year to year, not with his employers, but with his own ambition and interests. It is a profession for life—or a trade, I have no objection to call it, but a trade important and respectable. And the advantage of his place would not be a mere title. He could gain as an insulated lecturer no such profit as the mere vicinity of other lectureships would afford. The more professors there are in the establishment the better chance every individual teacher has of a numerous attendance; as the greater variety of articles that a market contains, the more it is likely to be frequented, and the sale of each particular article increased.

I would suggest leaving the professors to be paid by the fees of students entirely; for the present, at all events, and in proportion to their labour. But all kinds of teaching are not equally laborious; languages for instance, and some other branches of instruction, are not to be communicated by either merely reading or speaking *to* the student. The teacher must speak *with* him and exercise him, which is a very laborious profession. It would require men of strong health, strong abilities, and strong ambition for fame, but for no other fame than that of teachers. An author fatigued with writing books over night, and likely to send an apology in the morning, for absence, on account of indisposition, or to be thinking in his class about his books, when his attention ought to be absorbed in teaching, is not the man for such a professorship. The fees given to those more laborious professorships ought to be sufficiently high to induce distinguished, spirited, and promising men to accept them. I say promising, for men who have their reputation mostly yet to acquire, are likely to be the most zealous candidates for popularity as teachers. I would suggest making those professorships so onerous, as to make it inconsistent with retaining them to pursue any other vocation; and I would pay them, if possible, very handsomely. Those chairs, I believe, could be made highly lucrative. But I repeat my opinion, that they should not be given to men whose chief ambition is to be authors. I would make an express agreement that a man should devote himself for the time being to his professorship exclusively. If he wishes to live by writing, let him give up this vocation, which would be both laborious and lucrative. There are other professorships which would require no such toil, and which being honourable nominations in themselves, would need but small remunerations. They might, in fact, be discharged by short courses of lectures; say for three months. I should propose no holidays, but rather to divide a class between two colleagues, lecturing alternate seasons, than have the establishment vacant a week in the year. London, I may be told, is deserted for some weeks in the year, by almost every body. But a young man may be going abroad, or entering on business, and even a week's opportunity of studying some particular subject might be of importance to him. And supposing him thus circumstanced, would it not be a pity that he should find that university shut, because the month was September? In the evening there might be popular lectureships for grown people, on the plan of

other institutions. As to the number and size of rooms and fees of admittance, these and many other particulars are subjects evidently fitted for the consideration of a committee; and the decision of them must be preceded by a declaration of the public intention to adopt the general scheme.

The establishment of such a place of education would produce, I conceive, the most salutary and cheerful effects on the public spirit. The effect of one or two lectureships being held in one place can give no idea of what the collective effect of thirty or forty would be, if assembled under public patronage, and made the scene of public rivalship to youthful intellects. Dismiss, unless you prove them to be solid, the objections already alluded to about health and morality,—absolute chimeras, I humbly think,—and what other bad effects could be apprehended? Would it overstock the learned professions? No; we propose not to give degrees. Would it make men of unlearned vocations discontented with their business? No; men labour for bread, and not from the love of trades or business; and as long as these are gainful, there will be plenty of people to supply them. On the other hand, as we should give no degrees to students, to facilitate either their entering the church, or belonging to the faculty, we could not increase the number of candidates for either of those professions. Besides, a bishop can ordain any man with or without an English University degree, and law is studied in London already, and its honours are attainable by men who have never been at an university. The establishment would simply increase the general stock of knowledge in the middling classes of the metropolis. Would that make them insolent?—It is uneducated wealth that makes men vulgar and insolent. It is dependence on civility for success in business that makes them civil. The very rich have little intercourse with the laborious classes; but the middling ranks have much. If the knowledge of the poor be dangerous (I believe it to be directly the reverse), the improvement of those immediately above them would be the more required to counteract any discord in society. But the only upward movement against the peace of society that can be dreamt of, or imagined, is from those who have no property. The possessor of small wealth that is held, and is increasing by industry, is the most timid alarmist on that score.

On the other hand, look to the moral effects which might be rationally and soberly anticipated from the success of this scheme. I know that there are many eminent lecturers in London, but they have no rallying point for acting in harmony and concert, no centre for collecting their light into a focus. I know also that the two Universities have men of superlative celebrity; but, from the nature of things, we can only hear of them in London; and though they give us accomplished statesmen and gentry, they shed no inspiring influence on the great mass of the metropolitan mind. I may read the lectures of Copleston, and hear of those of Smyth, yet I must travel a day's journey in order to *hear* them delivered, or acquire, from personal acquaintance, the idea of a consummately polished English scholar. Yet there are hundreds in London who could enjoy the classical periods of the one, and thousands who could relish the historical intelligence of the other. The influence of such speakers in a great capital would be, eventually to

chase vulgarity from the character, habits, and pursuits, and from the very idioms and utterance of the vulgar wealthy.

I know there is nothing more justly offensive, even to a liberal Englishman, than the cant of Scotch nationality, invidiously comparing the intellectual rank of the two countries. After all, with our Buchanan, Napier, Watt, and the Great Unknown, our old mother tempts a dangerous comparison with the parent of Shakspeare, Locke, Bacon, and Milton. But still she has no reason to blush, considering her small population, for her intellectual family; and though other causes may have contributed, her universities have tended much to make it numerous. Whatever is advantageous in the mode of teaching at the English Universities, those who may eventually concert the plan of the University now proposed, ought to learn and to adopt. Those who have studied at them must be consulted on that subject. It would be absurd in me to treat of places, about the institution of which, I could at best only imperfectly inform myself. But I can speak of the Scottish Universities from personal knowledge, and of the benefits to which their institutions conduced, when professorships were filled by such men as seemed to realize the idea of great and effective teachers. Dugald Stewart was one of those, and is, by the general consent of his countrymen, placed, I think, as decidedly at the head of Scottish philosophical literature, as Sir Walter Scott is placed at the head of the literature of imagination. I am not contending for Professor Stewart's individual doctrines of philosophy, nor for any thing that is peculiar to Scotland, in the character of her philosophical school; I speak only of that influence which Professor Stewart exercised as a public character, over the temper and spirit of the place where he taught. Some shame I must take to myself, in confessing that I heard but too few of his lectures; but I heard enough to convince me that his influence in his own country, in supporting what most men, in their cool moments, will acknowledge to be the cause of truth, was greatly beneficent and important. He attached, through a long and trying period of exasperated party-feelings, respectability to the spirit of clemency and conciliation in the discussion of principles. As he had to deal with temper-trying times, and as he was called, in his metaphysical capacity, to illustrate practicable principles on deeply abstract grounds of argument, he may have carried his tone of abstraction and clemency to a pitch which it would not be advantageous to imitate in discussing less philosophical matters, or in times and places where cautious delicacy is less required. Imitation always exaggerates its model; and an imitator of Stewart might refine upon calmness and caution till he caricatured them; but still, that error would not demonstrate the inefficiency of those primary virtues in conducting the cause of truth.

When I described the laboriously useful class of professors, (meaning to give labour its most honourable meaning)—such professors as I would wish to see in this establishment, I had Professor Jardine, of Glasgow, all the time in my recollection, as a model of that character. He came up to the idea of a teacher who does not depend upon the capacity of a student, but who brings him on by the strength of his own; and teachers are then, and then alone, intellectual masters in the proper sense. Let no place of public education be founded without a recollection of this truth, that the progress

of the scholar ought not to be dependent on his own efforts, in any degree so much, as on the humblest capacity being turned to the best account. Jardine was doomed for a long time to teach the Aristotelian logic. I was one of the last to whom he taught it. But his strong plain sense saw, that teaching the Baconian philosophy, the general laws of taste, and the practice of English composition, were more important than old logic; and he divided his course between these different kinds of study. At last he became, though I believe not without opposition from the admirers of the wisdom of our ancestors, the reformer of his own professorship; he dismissed the old logic altogether, and taught only the rules of analytical reasoning, the principles of taste, and the practice of English composition. He taught, generally, three hours a day, till he was near the age of ninety. Not a moment of any hour was lost in digression or bad humour. We wrote and criticised each other's themes, he read our criticisms, and reasoned them down if they were uncandid. If you ask me what great minds his class produced, I will answer that the object of his class was to make useful men. He was not responsible for the production of greatness. But if one were to remind hundreds of the clergy of Scotland and the north of Ireland, of the name of Jardine, I know they would say that he practically taught them to compose their sermons. I cannot compute the amount of his influence on the increase of the taste and rationality of Scottish preaching, for that sort of influence has no distinct terms of measurement; but that he has influenced the moral improvement of his country, I have not a doubt. What motive but truth, can I have to speak of him thus, when a whole community, who know him, would despise me if I were describing him unjustly?

This is the description of the energetic men of plain sense and practical zeal, (and England teems with such,) whom I would recommend you to seek for the most important part of teachers in the proposed University.

Glasgow also possessed, in John Millar, another exemplar of professorial character. He lectured to a more advanced class of students, and was less expressly an exercising teacher than Jardine—but he was the model of a different species of excellence. I still allude to personal influence more than abstract doctrine. No teacher can be infallible; but if he electrifies the mind under his charge with a love of truth, he provides an antidote for his own fallibility. So as he makes us in love with truth in the main, he may teach doctrines partially untrue with impunity. Whether John Millar's doctrines were always right, is one question; but that they were generally so, and that right doctrines could not have been expounded by a better teacher, I believe is questioned by none who ever listened to him. His writings always seem to me to be imperfect copies of his mind, like those casts of sculpture which want the diaphanous polish of the original marble. I heard him, when I was but sixteen, lecture on Roman law. A dry subject enough it would have been in common hands; but in his hands Heineccius was made a feast to the attention. His eyes, his voice, his figure, were commanding; as if Nature had made him for the purpose of giving dignity and fascination to oral instruction. Such was the truth, cheerfulness,

and courage, that seemed to give erectness to his shapely bust. He might have stood to the statuary for a Roman Orator; but he was too much in earnest with his duty, and too manly to affect the orator; but keeping close to his subject, he gave it a seriousness that was never tiresome, and a gaiety that never seemed for one moment unillustrative or unnecessary. His cheerfulness appeared as indispensable as his gravity, and his humour was as light as his seriousness was intense. But he was the contrast of those weak men who suffer either their gaiety or gravity to run away with them—he was master of both. His students were always in the class before him, waiting as for a treat. It was rumoured that he was coming. There was a grave look of pleasure on every face when he began; and I thought (but it might be imagination) that there was a murmur of regret when the hour was at an end. Once, when he was lecturing in his best style and spirit, an English student, though perfectly sober, and meaning no offence, was so carried away by interest in the subject, that, forgetting himself, he made a remark aloud to the professor. It was as much against etiquette as speaking to the parson in church. A look from John Millar was sufficient to bring any man to his recollection; and the face of the student who had offered this involuntary compliment, was instantly covered with blushes.

It would be unbecoming in me to quote such recollections if they were not intimately connected with the subject. But they seem to me to illustrate the utility of University Professors lecturing daily and regularly, and of the influence which their lectures are likely to have on public spirit and information.

Until a meeting of the friends of this scheme shall have been convened, I think it is hardly necessary for me to say more on the subject.

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THOUGHTS

ON

THE ADVANCEMENT

OF

ACADEMICAL EDUCATION

IN

ENGLAND.

I prejudizj volgari, sì facilmentè ricevuti, e sostenuti sì caldamentè negli scorsi secoli, quando ogni città, ogni università, ogni pubblico corpo pensava di non esser celebre abbastanza, se non traeva la sua origine dai secoli piu rimoti, sono omai interamente svaniti; e si è finalmente conosciuto, che non è già l'antichità dell' origine, ma il valore e il merito de' suoi professori, che rendono le università celebri ed immortali.

TIRABOSCHI STORIA DELLA LITTER. ITAL.

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ADVANCEMENT

OF

ACADEMICAL EDUCATION.

SECT. I.—*Want of additional Means of Academical Education in England, free from the Restrictions of Religious Tests.*

VARIOUS circumstances have recently contributed to draw the public attention to the present state of Academical Education in England, and to the means of its extension and improvement. On the termination of the long struggle of this country with Napoleon, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and those also of Edinburgh and Glasgow, began to overflow with students, whose aims were necessarily diverted from naval and military enterprizes to the avocations of peace. The increasing population of the country; its flourishing condition; the unexampled prosperity of its commerce and manufactures, producing at the present moment an ample and increasing tide of superfluous wealth; and, still more, its intellectual character and moral pre-eminence, seem to demand, that additional opportunities should be presented for the cultivation of those liberal pursuits,

without which opulence and ease are useless, if not dangerous, to nations no less than to individuals. The impulse, given to the public mind, extends itself through every order of the state; and, since more abundant means than ever are now in operation for the diffusion of knowledge among the poor, it is but just that something should be done in like manner for the rich; and indeed it is necessary to the preservation of their due influence in society, that they should be at least as familiar with the various departments of science as their dependants and inferiors in rank. Whilst, therefore, almost every large town has its Artisan's Library and Mechanic's Institute, it appears desirable that the sources of instruction should be open with equal, or rather with still greater liberality to those, among whom literary occupation is more requisite in proportion to their exemption from the necessity of daily and manual labour. At the present period also, the enlightened views of the government are generally acknowledged to accord with the spirit of improvement which pervades the nation, and, more especially, the accomplished and liberal mind of the Sovereign himself cannot but be regarded as eminently adapted to raise the hopes of the friends of science and intellectual advancement. On the accession of his present Majesty to the throne, it was well observed by the noble Secretary of State, who moved the Address of Condolence and Congratulation, that, "as there was nothing of military glory left to be achieved, he trusted his Majesty would snatch the only remaining laurel by cultivating the arts of peace, and by pursuing a course marked by

policy, justice, and moderation."* The time seems now to be arrived, when these expectations may receive their fulfilment in measures, beyond all others adapted to gratify the noblest desires of the enlightened friends of their country and of mankind; and, as the reign of his late Majesty was rendered illustrious by a far greater progress than was ever made within the same space of time in Chemistry, Astronomy, Geography, and many other important sciences, the reign of George IV may receive its brightest and most imperishable glory from the establishment of new institutions for the instruction of the youth of the nation in all those branches of knowledge, which have recently attained so high a degree of maturity.

It would be a mere waste of words to insist upon the importance of academical education to those, whose circumstances admit of it. The design of the present publication is to inquire how this object may be best attained. It is probable, that the disposition of mankind to tread without sufficient reflection in the steps of their predecessors may manifest itself, even where the vigour of the intellect is especially wanted, because it is to be applied to purely intellectual subjects; and there is ground for apprehension, that, as the Universities of Paris, Bologna, and Salamanca, which are the oldest in Europe, were taken as the models of all similar establishments, and as the very last academical institution formed in the British

* See the Courier and Morning Chronicle for February 18, 1820.

dominions, Bishop's College at Calcutta, has been erected, even under the greatest possible difference of circumstances, upon the precise plan of the Colleges at Cambridge, so the prejudices and attachments of youth may dispose some individuals to approve of the servile imitation of our existing Universities, instead of inquiring what methods of instruction are the best in themselves, and the most suitable to the advanced state of knowledge and society in the present age. The founders of a new English university would now appear utterly ridiculous in the eyes of the civilized world, were they to copy the antiquated forms of those seminaries, which sprung up when Europe first began to emerge from the lowest depths of ignorance. They may fairly consider themselves as entitled, on the ground of that very love of instruction, which calls forth their efforts, and still more on the ground of all the additional light, supplied by five hundred years of experience and of growing knowledge and intellectual cultivation, to deliberate for themselves upon the best plan of academical education, to select from differently constituted bodies whatever recommends itself to their acceptance, or to adopt methods altogether new; and thus, instead of copying the decrepitude of ancient institutions, they may show them how to become young again, and at the same time may exhibit an original model for succeeding establishments. The design, therefore, of the following pages is to suggest to the friends of the object in view the principal considerations, which may assist them in adopting the most eligible scheme for carrying that object into effect, not regarding ex-

clusively what is done either in the English, the Scotch, or the foreign universities, but endeavouring to discover what is most useful and rational in each of them, and, above all, what is required by the wants and capacities of youth, and more particularly what is suited to the present condition of the English nation.

The first principle to be laid down in forming the plan of a new English university, is *the absence of religious tests as the means of access to its advantages.* The object should be to establish a seminary for the purpose of affording the best instruction in the languages, the arts, and the sciences, and not for the purpose of inculcating any particular system of theological opinions, or of cherishing an exclusive attachment to any form of worship, or to any one sect or party. Every honour or advantage, which the two existing Universities have to bestow, instead of being accessible to the people of England, is confined to the members of the Established Church. Thus one half of the nation, consisting of Jews, Catholics, and the various classes of Dissenters, are obliged either to leave their country in order to obtain an academical education, or to be satisfied with the imperfect advantages of the private seminaries supported by the adherents of their several denominations. At Cambridge it has been thought inexpedient to oblige those, who cannot be supposed to have studied dogmatical theology, to make a profession of their faith in particular tenets. Nothing more, therefore, is required than a declaration before taking any degree,

that they are "*bonâ fide* members of the Church of England." At Oxford, subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles is required from the young men both at their first entrance and on taking degrees; and the tutors are especially enjoined to instruct all their pupils in the doctrines of those Articles, and to do their utmost to induce them to conform to the Church of England.* Also, the Act of Uniformity, 13 and 14 Charles II. c. 4, besides other provisions of a similar tendency, requires that no form of prayer, or administration of sacraments or ceremonies, shall be used in either of these Universities, unless in accordance with the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England. Thus the conscientious dissidents of every class, whose most ardent hopes and virtuous feelings are interested in the endeavour to bring up their sons so as to become useful and honourable

* Excerpta e Stat. Univ. Oxon. tit. ii. § 8; iii. § 2; sec. v. ix. § 3. 5. See also tit. ix. sec. ii. § 3, where, according to a statute recently enacted, the four public examiners of candidates for the first degree are adjured to remember, "That a deficiency in this most serious matter cannot be compensated by any other merits whatsoever." By another statute (tit. xvi. § 12.) all members of the University, of whatsoever degree or condition, are forbidden, on pain of a fine of 6s. 8d. for the first offence, of twice that sum, together with a reproof from the Vice-Chancellor, &c. for the second, and of expulsion from the University for the third, to have any communication whatsoever with any society (*cuilibet istorum cœtui*) of dissidents from the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England, or to be present at any sermon or religious service except in places consecrated or licensed by the Bishops of that Church. This statute was passed in Convocation, Dec. 6th, 1803.

members of the state, are constrained to look in vain to those splendid halls of learning, which are open to those, who are not more than their equals in rank, wealth, and character, but to them only on condition that they violate what they conceive to be their duty.

Nor is there any reason to hope, that the plan of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge will in this respect be altered. Even a *relaxation* of the present law would not satisfy the wishes of the high-minded Catholic or Dissenter, who would rather relinquish their proffered advantages altogether than send his son to partake of them by stealth, or only in the scanty proportion conceded to him as the member of a degraded caste. But the two Universities have hitherto betrayed no tendency to enlarge in any degree the terms of admittance. If such a measure could be expected in either of them, it would be in the University of Cambridge. Yet, when it was proposed a very few years ago to admit the accomplished President of the Linnæan Society to deliver lectures on Botany, a majority of the tutors united to oppose the scheme, and signed their names, eighteen in number, to the following declaration:—"We, the undersigned Tutors of Colleges, beg leave respectfully to express to the Vice-Chancellor, that we decidedly disapprove of our pupils attending the public lectures of any person, who is neither a member of the University, nor a member of the Church of England." In vindication of this measure, the Rev. Dr. Monk, the Dean of Peterborough, who was then a Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, and Regius Professor

of Greek, appeared as the organ of his associates, and published a pamphlet containing these words:— "Bigotry or intolerance in any shape is not only foreign to my feelings, but is an object of my perfect abhorrence. The Dissenters I sincerely respect for their sincerity, and deeply lament their conscientious separation from us. *At the same time I shall not conceal my decided conviction, that it is our duty, so long as that disagreement continues, to keep the doors of the Universities closed against them.*"*

Whether this decision be correct is a question, which it is quite unnecessary here to discuss. Let it be admitted, that the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge ought for ever to be appropriated, as they now are, to the sole use and benefit of the Church of England. The principal object pursued in them is the education of clergymen to officiate in that church. Perhaps it may be expedient, that the young men, designed for this most important purpose, should be preserved from the contamination supposed to be in-

* See Considerations respecting Cambridge, &c. by Sir J. E. Smith, A.D. 1818; and, A Vindication of the University of Cambridge from the Reflections of Sir J. E. Smith, by the Rev. J. H. Monk, B.D., &c.

Mr. G. Dyer has very recently renewed the attempt, so often made both by argument and by remonstrance, to induce the existing Universities, and Cambridge more particularly, to abolish subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles. See his *Dissertatio Generalis, sive Epistola Literaria, Viris Academicis, præsertim ad Cantabrigiam commorantibus, humillime oblata,* vol. ii. of his *Privileges of the University of Cambridge. London,* 1824. It remains for the public to see whether this "humble" address, which is certainly most respectful, and very argumentative and cogent, will be successful.

cident to familiar intercourse at a susceptible and perilous age with Jews, Catholics, and Dissenters, and from the possibility of entertaining doubts respecting those doctrines, which they are destined in after life to proclaim and defend. But, while provision is made upon so ample and magnificent a scale for this great religious community, some portion of the same honours and advantages ought certainly to be accessible to the rest of the nation: nor ought England, which has always made liberty its boast, which has now for some hundred years asserted the principles of toleration, which has been the refuge of the oppressed and the sanctuary of the persecuted, and which has attained so great a pre-eminence in scientific and literary pursuits, to be the only nation in the civilized world, which is without a university open to all classes of the people.

If we look back to past events, in order to ascertain whether the continuance of the present exclusive system of academical education is required by the principles of the constitution, or by the spirit and sentiments of the English nation, we shall find abundant testimonies in favour of the scheme of comprehension which is now proposed. On the one hand, we shall discover the decrees of our most arbitrary monarchs establishing the present law in unison with the prevailing dispositions of the Universities; and, on the other hand, the declarations of the Commons of England in Parliament, their grants of money, and the charters of various Sovereigns since the revolution, all proving, that it is competent to the supreme authority to bestow the highest academical

honours without regard to sectarian distinctions. The imposition of a theological test was first enforced upon all graduates at Cambridge, in obedience to the will of James I. Being at Newmarket in 1616, he caused his pleasure to be signified to the University by the Bishop of Winchester, who sent, together with the strict directions of His Majesty, the following letter.

"*To the Right Worshipful Dr. Hill, Master of Catherine Hall, and Vice Chancellor of Cambridge.*

"Good Mr. Vice Chancellor,

"I have sent you His Majesty's hand to his own directions. I think you have no precedent, that ever a king, first with his own mouth, then with his own hand, gave such directions; and therefore you shall do very well to keep that writing curiously, and the directions religiously, and to give His Majesty a good account of them carefully; which I pray God you may; and so with my love to yourself, and the rest of the heads, I commit you to God. From court, this 12th day of December, 1616.

"Your very loving friend,

"JAMES WINTON."*

* Neal's History of the Puritans; Dyer's History of the University of Cambridge, vol. i. p. 99—101, and Privileges of Cambridge, vol. i. p. 347, 459, 550; Free Thoughts on the Subject of Reformation, &c. published by Benjamin Dawson, LL. D. Rector of Burgh, 1771, p. 215, 216; Works of John Jebb, M. D. vol. i. p. 203—206.

Under the reign of his present Majesty we may be assured that, however the heads of the Colleges might be inclined to receive a similar communication, no attempt would be made by such methods either to challenge their gratitude, or to exercise their submission. The order of James I. was further enforced in 1629, by his son, Charles I. In opposition to these measures, the House of Commons in January 1641 resolved, that the statute, imposing upon young scholars subscription to the declaration of conformity, "is against the law and liberty of the subject, and ought not to be pressed upon any student or graduates whatsoever." * They afterwards passed a resolution to the same effect, in relation to the University of Oxford.†

The celebrated Act of Uniformity was passed soon after the restoration. In addition to its other enactments, it required a declaration of conformity to the Liturgy of the Church of England from every master or other head, fellow, chaplain, or tutor, and

* Rushworth, v. iv. p. 149.

† Very different from the tenour of the subscription imposed by the Stuarts is the oath prescribed in the statutes given by Queen Elizabeth to Trinity College, Cambridge, to be taken by the fellows on their admission; "I, N. N. do swear and promise in the presence of God, that I will heartily and steadfastly adhere to the true religion of Christ, and will prefer the authority of Holy Scripture before the opinions of men; that I will make the word of God the rule of my faith and practice, and look upon other things, which are not proved out of the word of God, as human only; that I will readily and with all my power oppose doctrines contrary to the word of God; that, in matters of religion, I will prefer truth before custom, what is written before what is not written," &c.—See Clarke's Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity, Introduction. p. xiii, xiv.

from every public professor or reader in either of the two universities, or in any college, hall, house of learning, or hospital; from every schoolmaster, keeping any public or private school; and from every person teaching any youth in any house or private family. The Act of Toleration, passed immediately after the revolution, and the Act of 19 George III. c. 44. framed to relieve dissenting ministers and schoolmasters, with various other legislative measures, prove, that the cruel penalties and unjust restrictions of the laws of the Stuarts are no longer to be regarded as consonant to the principles and spirit of our free constitution. Even at the very time, when the House of Commons refused to receive the petition of 250 clergymen and others for relief from subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, the practice was condemned so far as the Universities were concerned in it. The debate took place on the 6th of February, 1772. Mr. Lee, afterwards Solicitor General, was present, and his interesting account of it, in a letter to a friend, is preserved.* He says, "Nobody but Sir Roger Newdigate (M.P. for the University of Oxford) attempted to defend the Articles. And all the house explicitly declared it was foolish to require subscription at the Universities, and expressed a wish that it might be laid aside there." The freedom, with which one of his Majesty's present ministers, the Right Honourable George Canning, has lately ventured, in a debate on the Catholic question,† to treat the Athanasian Creed, and the reception of the very just and sensible remarks, offered about the same

* In Belsham's Life of Lindsey, p. 54—61.

† April 21, 1825.

time by Mr. P. Courtenay upon the Thirty-nine Articles, afford sufficient proof, that the sentiments of the House of Commons, and consequently of the great body of the English gentry, are still decidedly in favour of the abolition of religious tests from places of national education.

The various grants of money by the House of Commons for academical purposes, all tend to establish the same point. They have been voted annually for the support of the Catholic College at Maynooth, and, as occasion required, in aid of the College at Edinburgh, and the Academical Institution at Belfast, into both of which latter seminaries the professors and the students are admitted without subscribing any religious test.

Upon the same liberal principle charters have been granted by the Sovereigns of the House of Hanover. In 1734, George II. as Elector of Hanover, founded the University of Gottingen, which almost at its very birth started into a superiority, which it has never ceased to preserve. Such have been the celebrity, the talents, and the industry of its numerous professors, who have been chosen from a regard to their merit alone, without any exclusion on account of creed or country. In the British colonies of North America colleges were incorporated, at different times prior to the American revolution, by royal charters, conferring upon them the privileges of the English colleges, and constituting them upon the same general plan, but with little or no imposition of religious tests upon their members. For example, King's College, now called Columbia College, in the city of New York, was incorporated by a royal charter, dated

the 31st of October, 1754. The intention of its founders was, "that the liberal arts and sciences should be taught there, without making the institution an instrument for the propagation of any peculiar tenets in religion." Most of them were members of the Church of England, who, besides other aid, conveyed land for the use of the College from the property of one of their existing establishments. On this ground the charter provided, that the President should always be a member of the Church of England. It also directed, that a form of prayer, collected from the liturgy of that Church, with a particular prayer for the college, should be used every morning and evening in the college chapel. No religious qualification was required from any member except the President. The charter grants to the governors, and their successors for ever, "the power of conferring all such degrees as are usually conferred by either of the English Universities." It also empowers them "to make such laws and ordinances for the regulation of the College as they shall think best, provided that they are not repugnant to the laws of England, or of the province of New York, *and do not extend to exclude any person of any religious denomination whatever from equal liberty and advantage of education, or from any degrees, liberties, privileges, benefits, or immunities of the College, on account of his particular tenets in matters of religion.*"*

A noble example of liberality was presented by his late Majesty, in concert with his ministers, when

* Morse's Amer. Geography; Address delivered before the Alumni of Columbia College, May 4, 1825, by Clement C. Moore, A.M. p. 4—7. 25.

in 1782, the expatriated citizens of Geneva were offered an asylum in the vicinity of Waterford. The instructions issued by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (afterwards Marquis of Buckingham) to the Earl of Tyrone, expressed in the following memorable terms the design of the Government to establish among the emigrants a seminary upon the model of that, which had long flourished, and still maintains its pre-eminence in their own venerable republic.

"And whereas young persons of rank and fortune, from all parts of Europe, resorted to the City of Geneva, to profit from the system of education established there, under professors of eminence in useful and liberal studies and accomplishments; and whereas a school or academy, formed upon the same principles in this kingdom, would forward his Majesty's gracious dispositions for the encouragement of religion, virtue, and science, by improving the education and early habits of youth, and would remove the inducements to a foreign education; and, being conducted with that attention to morality and virtue, which hath distinguished the establishments in that city, may attract foreigners to reside in this kingdom for the like purpose: we do further pray and empower you to consider and digest a plan for a school and academy of education, to be established in the new colony, and to make a part of the constitution thereof, under such institutions and regulations, and with such privileges, as may best contribute to the ends hereby proposed." *

* Memoirs of Lit. and Phil. Society of Manchester, vol. ii. p. 34. Mr. Coxe, in his Travels in Switzerland, (Letter 65,

These facts may suffice to show, that the law of the land, the spirit of the constitution, and the practice of the Sovereign since the accession of the present royal family of Great Britain, are all favourable to the principle of free admission for all classes of the people to the honours and advantages of academical education.

It may, however, be objected, that the leading members of the two existing Universities are actuated by different views, and will present a formidable and perhaps fatal opposition to any new establishment. But is it just to bring forward odious charges of selfishness and bigotry against these illustrious bodies, before they have proved by their measures or declarations, that they are deserving of them? Many of their number must be acknowledged to be highly enlightened and perfectly disinterested men, the friends of universal science and of the unlimited diffusion of knowledge: and, although it cannot be denied that such persons, when acting in a corporate capacity, often give their countenance and support to proceedings which, as individuals, they would condemn, and it is obvious that they may be opposed to overpowering majorities of their own associates, yet the surmises and suspicions which are afloat ought

vol. ii. p. 386) says, "The total expense of the academy at New Geneva would, at the highest calculation, have amounted to 4,554*l.* per annum, and, at a more moderate valuation, to only 8,924*l.* For this sum, 44 professors, assistants, and masters, would have been maintained; a public library established; and the expenses of a student, in the article of education, would not have exceeded 164*l.* 18*s.* for 13 years, or about 12*l.* per annum."

to be repressed in justice to Oxford and Cambridge, until sufficient ground of alarm is seen in the manifestation of some hostile purpose. It is true, that in every former instance of an attempt to institute any society, which could be regarded in the light of a rival, the two Universities have endeavoured to strangle their third sister in its infancy, and seem to have imagined, that they were bound to justify their claim to the appellation of the "two eyes of England," by resolving that, if possible, not a ray of light should penetrate the intellect of England through any other entrance.

The university of Stamford in Lincolnshire, which comprised eight colleges or halls, appears to have attained its greatest distinction in the earlier part of the 14th century.* To extinguish its rising fame, and to prevent the growth of similar establishments, the oaths were invented, which are still administered at Oxford and Cambridge on taking degrees, and by which every graduate engages not to perform any kind of academical exercise any where in England, except in the two sister Universities.† In compliance with the application of the University of Oxford, where he had been educated, Edward III. issued a writ to the

* See Camden's Brittania, with additions, by Gough, vol. ii. p. 225. 243, 244; Bishop Tanner's Notitia Monastica, by Nasmith, Lincolnshire lxxii. 3; Magna Brittania, vol. ii.; Peck's Academia Tertia Anglicana, book x, xi; Carlisle's Endowed Grammar Schools, vol. i. p. 850—852.

† The Oxford oath is as follows; (Excerpta e Stat. Tit. ix. Sec. 6. § 1.) "*Jurabis* etiam, quod in ista Facultate, alibi in Anglia quam hic et Cantabrigiæ, Lectiones tuas solenniter, tanquam in Universitate, non resumes: nec in aliqua Facultate, sicut in Uni-

Sheriff of Lincolnshire, commanding him to proclaim at Stamford a prohibition for any person to study or perform scholastic exercises elsewhere than at Oxford or Cambridge, on pain of severe penalties. The professors and scholars being refractory, he next ordered the Sheriff to seize their books and goods, and to report their names to him, after which they were punished by confiscation and imprisonment. The adoption of similar harsh measures was occasioned by the passing of the Act of Uniformity in the year 1662, after which some of the most learned of the 2000 ejected clergymen established academies for the benefit of their non-conformist brethren. Although this employment was not only indispensable in order to provide against the decay of those principles, their high estimation of which they had so recently proved by the most costly sacrifices, but was also in some measure requisite as the means of preserving themselves and their families from starvation, they were called upon to relinquish it in compliance with the oaths above-mentioned. "The calm retreat of the student was haunted by the spectre of intolerance; and harassing processes in the spiritual courts were commenced against those, who presided over theological seminaries."*

versitate, solenniter incipies; nec consenties, ut aliquis alibi in Anglia incipiens, hic pro Magistro in illa Facultate habeatur.

"Item tu *jurabis*, quod non leges nec audies *Stanfordiæ*, tanquam in Universitate, studio, vel Collegio generali."

* Toulmin's History of the Protestant Dissenters, p. 217.—The continued imposition of these oaths may, in the view of some persons, present an obstacle to the success of a new English uni-

When the munificent Sir Thomas Gresham had formed the design of establishing his college in London, the Vice Chancellor and Senate of Cambridge used their earnest endeavours to persuade him that it would be detrimental, if not absolutely ruinous, to the two Universities, and that his intended endowments might be much more properly and advan-

versity by precluding the services of men educated at Oxford and Cambridge. It would certainly be desirable, in the event of a new university being established, that its supporters should have an unlimited scope in the choice of men of talents and erudition to fill its several chairs. But, if the two existing Universities cannot consent to impart any share of their literary and scientific acquirements, so as to assist a rising institution, its friends may console themselves with the reflection, that science and learning are now far more generally diffused than at the time of the dissolution of the university of Stamford; and, perhaps, the liberal and extensive scheme of a national university may be better executed by men, who have not received the sectarian antipathies or contracted modes of thinking, which are cherished by exclusive systems of education. It appears also doubtful whether the oaths absolutely require that construction, in which they were taken in order to prevent the ejected ministers from keeping academies. The candid and virtuous Archbishop Tillotson indeed approved of it. When, in 1692, the clergy of Craven petitioned Archbishop Sharp to suppress Mr. Frankland's seminary, Tillotson advised his co-metropolitan to comply with the petition, because to instruct young men publicly in university learning was contrary to Mr. Frankland's oath as a Master of Arts of the University of Cambridge.—See Birch's Life of Tillotson, and the Life of Archbishop Sharp, by his son, Thomas Sharp, D.D. vol. i. p. 358, 359. But the arguments, by which two of the ejected ministers, Mr. Samuel Cradock, B.D. and Mr. Charles Morton, M.A. vindicated themselves, appear to have considerable weight, and may be read in Calamy's Continuation, vol. i. p. 177—197; vol. ii. p. 732—735; and in Toulmin's History of the Dissenters, p. 222—224.

tageously bestowed upon themselves. To teach the liberal arts in any new seminary they considered as a shameful violation of the privileges, and a spoliation of the honours and dignities, enjoyed by themselves and by the University of Oxford.* When the college, founded at Durham, in 1657, for the benefit of the northern counties of England, and in compliance with the urgent petitions of the principal gentry, began to flourish, both Oxford and Cambridge petitioned Richard Cromwell against the existence of a third university, and at the restoration it was suppressed by Charles II.† The Royal Society was instituted about the same time; and, although many of the most distinguished members of the two Universities belonged to it, yet some were apprehensive, that it would "undermine the Universities," thus showing how sensitive were their fears with respect to any undertaking, which could lead to reflections upon their modes of study, or which could by any possibility bring their attainments and pursuits into an unfavourable contrast with those of other societies.‡

These facts ought, doubtless, to be kept in view,

* See the Letters of the Vice Chancellor and Senate, in Ward's Lives of Gresham Professors, Appendix, No. iii.

† Surtees's History of Durham, vol. i. p. cvi.; Harris's Life of Oliver Cromwell, second edition, p. 430, 431. In Peck's Memoirs of Cromwell (Historical Pieces, No. XX.) is the writ of privy seal, by which the college was founded.

‡ See the preface to Glanvill's Plus Ultra, A.D. 1668, and Sprat's History of the Royal Society, part iii. sect. 2, entitled, "*Experiments not dangerous to the Universities.*"

This jealousy was not peculiar to Oxford and Cambridge. In the 13th century an attempt was made at Bologna to oblige the

when the project of a new academical institution is contemplated. But it would be unfair to impute to the present members of the Universities the same mean jealousies and pusillanimous apprehensions, which actuated their predecessors in times either of prevailing ignorance or of civil commotion. The two Universities have unquestionably partaken of the general illumination and increased liberality of the present age. Their members cannot but perceive, that they themselves may derive the greatest benefit from the generous emulation of new institutions, and that nothing is more likely to infuse into them a fresh vigour, to make their literary and scientific attainments proportionate to their ample stores of accumulated wealth, and to bring out of their learned seclusion a race of divines and statesmen, whose

scholars by an oath not to enter into any other university: a tumult was produced among them, and the measure seems to have been abandoned.—*Tiraboschi, Storia della Litter. Ital.* When the college of Edinburgh was begun in 1578, the attempt "met with a strong opposition from the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, and the Bishop of Aberdeen, from an imagined injury their respective colleges might receive from such an erection." Hence the work was for some years delayed.—*Maitland's History of Edinburgh,* p. 356. The Bishop of Aberdeen might have gathered a better lesson from the instrument by which, in 1494, Pope Alexander VI authorized his own city to rank as a seat of academical learning. "As two Universities had already been erected in Scotland, it might have occurred, as an objection to the institution of a third, that two had been thought sufficient for the whole of England: 'but,' says the Bull, 'science has this distinguishing quality, that the diffusion of it tends not to diminish, but to increase the general mass.'"—*Sinclair's Account of Scotland,* vol. xxi. p. 53.

enlarged views and extensive acquirements may be suited to the demands of an inquisitive age and a freely thinking people. Besides this, they ought to feel, they must feel satisfied with the immense advantages, which they will enjoy over a new establishment, not only in their magnificent buildings, their rich and venerable libraries, their estates, their livings, and their numerous fellowships, scholarships, and endowments of every kind, but in the affections of those parents and guardians, whom they have educated, who regard them with tender and sacred recollections, and whose fondest wish it is to entrust another generation to their care.

But let us suppose, in order that this objection may be fully refuted, that either of the Universities, or that both of them, should do their utmost to obstruct the success of a third. What will their efforts avail in opposition to the wishes and opinions of the great mass of the English nation? They must soon yield to the stronger, more enlightened, and more righteous decision of the public mind; and having proved that, instead of being the generous patrons of learning and the friends of intellectual improvement, their morality is but selfishness and their wisdom craft, they will stand self-condemned before the august tribunal of the nation and the world: their degrees will be regarded with contempt, and their laurels will fade: their conduct will be considered as only affording a stronger proof than ever of the want of some academical institution animated by a nobler and better spirit: and they will rue the day, when they attempted to stifle those pleas of parents on behalf of

their children, which must persuade the reason, and powerfully affect the sympathies of every virtuous and honourable mind.

SECT. II.—*Plan of a University open to all Religious Parties shown to be practicable, from the Customs of England before the Reformation, and of various other Countries at the present Day. Its importance to the Growth of Intellect, and to the Progress of Truth.*

BUT it will be asked, is it desirable, or indeed is it possible, to establish a university upon the comprehensive plan, which has been proposed? Is it to be expected, that either the young or the old should so forget their peculiarities of religious opinion as to form one harmonious society intent upon literary and scientific pursuits? And is not this suppression of their feelings, this generalization of their ideas upon the most awful and important subjects, to be dreaded, even if it were possible, on account of its tendency to relax the principles of morality together with those of religion, and to leave the mind destitute of solid and deeply rooted maxims of conduct?

Those who doubt the *practicability* of the plan proposed, can hesitate only in consequence of the prejudices, to which they are now liable as Englishmen. Unless the before-mentioned college at Durham, and the academy, which formerly flourished in high and deserved repute at Warrington, and which after a temporary dissolution was renewed at Manchester, be

deemed exceptions, no institution has been formed in England since the reformation, with the view of extending the advantages of academical instruction to all classes of the people. But before the reformation the case was different even here. The doctrines of Wiclif were openly maintained and preached in Oxford by some of the heads and fellows of Colleges;* and the different orders of the religious had their respective seminaries under the shelter of the same university. St. Bernard's College, for example, was founded at Oxford by Archbishop Chichele for scholars of the Cistercian order, who were thus enabled to enjoy all the public advantages, which the place then furnished, and at the same time to keep up their peculiar observances.† In other countries, men of all religious principles and from all nations now meet together in the most amicable manner and with unspeakable advantage, to receive instructions in science and literature. Edinburgh and Glasgow present every winter the noble spectacle of classes of students, thus united in various numbers to the amount of 600 in a single lecture-room, listening with eager attention to teachers of the first professional eminence:‡ and, in the former of these places,

* Lowth's Life of William of Wickham, p. 188.

† Chalmers's Colleges and Halls in Oxford, p. 372.

‡ The following declaration of the principal and professors of the University of Glasgow, occurs in Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. xxi. p. 43.

"No oaths, or subscriptions, or tests of any kind, are required of students at their admission to the university; as it is deemed highly improper, that young persons, in prosecuting a general

the professors themselves, having voluntarily relinquished the practice of subscribing the Westminster Confession of Faith, are indiscriminately attached to the communion of either the presbyterian or the episcopal church.* In Trinity College, Dublin, which

course of Academical Education, should bind themselves to any particular system of tenets or opinions."

* It is necessary to observe, that, although the practice of the professors at Edinburgh is believed to be as represented above, yet in the dispute which occurred in 1805, relative to the election of Mr. Leslie, the presbytery of Edinburgh brought to light two acts of the Scottish parliament, requiring professors to subscribe the Westminster Confession of Faith. The professors immediately answered, that they were ready to subscribe it, and always had been, although in point of fact no one had subscribed it since the year 1758, thus showing the pitiable situation in which men of learning are placed by laws, imposing restraints upon opinion, and inducing them to cringe and truckle to persons, whose ambitious secularity, cloaked with the semblance of religion, they despise.—See Statement of Facts, by Dugald Stewart, p. 132—139; and Examination of the Statement, by one of the Ministers of Edinburgh, p. 7—15.

How much more becoming a learned and chartered body was the declaration of the University of Glasgow, when their Professor of Divinity, Mr. John Simson, was persecuted by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland on a groundless charge of heresy! Their representation, read in Assembly, May 6, 1729, commences thus:

"The University of Glasgow, taking under their consideration the Process now in dependance against Mr. John Simson, Professor of Divinity in the said University, and judging, that although the late General Assembly did not think fit to order the said Process to be transmitted to the several Universities of Scotland, as they did to the several Presbyteries, yet it will be owned, that the said Universities, and this in particular, have a special interest and concern in that affair: we beg leave, with all due respect, to represent to the ensuing General Assembly, that,

the dignitaries of the English church recognise in their prayers, and the Universities in their diplomas, degrees in arts, law, and physic, are conferred, and all collegiate honours and advantages under the rank of fellowships are granted, without the imposition of a religious test. The Academical Institution at Belfast continues to flourish upon a plan of unrestricted liberality, not only being destitute of any sectarian distinctions to confine its usefulness, but even accommodating theological professors of any denomination, which may seek the aid of its provisions. In the most celebrated of the German Universities, the practice of Oxford and Cambridge can scarcely be mentioned without creating astonishment in the hearer. In the Universities of North America, which have kept pace with the flourishing condition of the great republics to which they belong, little or no difference founded upon theological opinion exists in any of their departments. Some of the academical institutions in that country were framed under English

although we own that Mr. Simson, and *every Minister and Member of this Church,* is subject to the discipline of this Church for crimes and errors any of them may be guilty of, deserving ecclesiastical censure; and that the Venerable Assembly, or any particular judicatures, under whose inspection they are, have power to inflict upon them any ecclesiastical censures the said crimes or errors may be found to deserve: *yet the obligations we are under to maintain, by all proper methods, the rights and privileges of Universities, which are secured to them by the crown, their charters, grants or acts of Parliament in their favours, oblige us to declare, that we cannot allow that any censure of an ecclesiastical nature upon the said Mr. Simson can affect his office in this University.*"

patronage, with the view of giving instruction to Indians as well as Europeans.* To mention no more, the Academy of Fine Arts in Mexico exhibits every evening a numerous assemblage, in which the distinctions depending on birth and complexion, and so much regarded in all other cases, are waived, the sons of the nobility and the children of artizans, the Whites, the Indians, and the Mestizos, meeting on equal terms, and enjoying equal advantages of instruction. "It is a consolation to observe," says the enlightened traveller, who describes this scene, "that under every zone the cultivation of science and art establish a certain equality among men, and obliterate for a time at least all those mean passions, the effects of which are so prejudicial to social happiness." †

After considering such facts as these we must either admit, that the English are as well adapted to combine for the common purposes of academical education as any other people, or we must draw the inevitable conclusion, that they are prone beyond all other nations to mutual jealousy, distrust, and animosity, and that their religious principles, instead of

* Dartmouth College in New Hampshire, called after William, Earl of Dartmouth, and incorporated by royal charter in 1769. Also, the college of William and Mary, founded in Virginia during their reign, had a professorship for the instruction of the Indians, endowed through the liberality of the Hon. Robert Boyle.—See Morse's American Geography. The charter of incorporation of Harvard College in Massachusetts, dated May 31st, 1650, expresses the design of the seminary to be "the education of the English and Indian youth of the country in knowledge and godliness."

† Humboldt's Political Essay on New Spain, book ii. c. 7.

uniting them, serve only to set them at perpetual variance. Surely every one, who is concerned for the honour either of his country or of Christianity, will wish to obviate the reproach of so disgraceful an alternative. Odious indeed must be the religion of that church or sect, under whatever name it may be known, which cannot admit of the free intercourse of its young disciples with other classes of men even in the pursuit of knowledge and the cultivation of taste, but seeks to maintain its power over their minds by fixing upon them the shackles of inveterate prejudice, and by creating in them an early and indelible antipathy in regard to the principles and characters of all who are not included within its own pale.

But, whatever may have been the case formerly, a catholic spirit seems now to prevail. Within the last fifty years all sects have accustomed themselves in some degree to co-operate in the support of innumerable public institutions through every county and large provincial town, not only for the relief of the sick and afflicted, but also for diffusing religious knowledge, and for extending elementary instruction to the poor, and proportionably higher attainments to the middle classes of society. Men of every persuasion seem at length to have discovered, that they may unite in the pursuit of objects, in which they have a common interest, without compromising any of their peculiar principles. Amidst all their diversities of opinion they now generally acknowledge the propriety of a sentiment, which, it is true, they might have learned long ago from so strange an instructor as a Turkish Sultan, who, when he was

advised to extirpate the Jews from his dominions, directed the attention of his lords to a pot of flowers, and from the harmonious blending of their various colours argued the propriety and usefulness of allowing men of all sects and countries to live under his government without molestation.* We cannot imagine a finer application of this sentiment than by conceiving the bloom and fragrance of the youthful mind to flourish in the fertile soil of the same university, though with every conceivable tinge of religious and political opinion. Such a system of education could not fail to produce genuine patriotism

* "In the great garden (near Aleppo), is a chapel, built by the river that runs through it, upon pillars, where the Great Sultan used to hold conferences with his Privy-Counsellors and Visier-Bashaws. It happened in the reign of *Solyman the Great* (as the gardener did relate to us), that when they were assembled to consult, whether it was more profitable to him to suffer the Jews in his provinces, or to root them quite out; after every one had given his opinion, and the most of them were of the opinion that they ought not to be tolerated, because of their insufferable usury, wherewith they oppressed his subjects, and after the Emperor had heard every one's sentiment, he gave them also to understand his, and that in this instance, viz. he bad them look upon a flower-pot, that held a quantity of fine flowers of divers colours, that was then in the room, and bid them consider, whether each of them in their colour did not set out the other the better, and, if any of them should decay or be taken away, whether it would not somewhat spoil the beauty of the rest. After every one had heard the Sultan's opinion, and did allow it to be true, the Emperor did begin to explain this and said, "The more sorts of nations I have in my dominions under me, as *Turks, Moors, Grecians*, &c. the greater authority they bring to my kingdoms, and make them more famous."—Dr. Leonhart Rauwolff's Travels, in Ray's Collection, p. 62.

and true greatness of mind; to correct the misconceptions and soften the prejudices, with which rival churches are necessarily infected, so long as they are kept in ignorance of one another; to lead ingenuous youth to views of wider extent and nobler aim than any which can be connected with the separate interests of a single party in the state; to exhibit, not the skill of the disputant, or the pedant's empty pride, but "the beautiful union of learning with humanity;"* and at once to enlighten, to adorn, and to strengthen and consolidate the empire.

The adherents of every religious party, if they be sincere, maintain the opinions of that party, *because they think them true.* Hence they virtually acknowledge, that TRUTH in the abstract is of superior importance to the principles either of their own, or of any other church. In short, all persons of reflection and integrity will bow with reverence before this sacred form. They must acknowledge, that to instil the love of TRUTH ought to be among the very first objects in the education of youth, and that the way to its attainment ought to be left as open as possible. On these grounds it might be expected, that Catholics and Protestants, Churchmen and Dissenters, Christians, Jews, and men of every shade of sentiment, would unite, and that they would anticipate the greatest advantage to the understandings and cha-

* "Exempla semper mihi proposui," says the able and accomplished Bishop of Chester, "Marklandum nostrum et Tyrwhittum, in quibus nescias utrum magis admirabile eluceat, ingenii acumen, an pulchra humanitatis cum eruditione conjunctio."—Præf. in Æschyli Septem c. Thebas.

racters of the young from courses of instruction in the languages, the sciences, and the liberal arts, accessible to all upon equal terms. For, if the mind be habituated to the candid and cautious investigation of opposite opinions, invigorated by the earnest, yet steadfast pursuit of general knowledge, and trained to an ingenuous preference of truth to error in every case, it will be thus best prepared to decide between the claims of contending sects, and will be the more likely to pronounce finally an equitable judgment, the less it has been enfeebled through inaction or warped by the dictates of authority. In religion, as well as in all other branches of knowledge, he who has thus freely, yet diligently and carefully exercised his understanding, attains, as the reward of his judicious and honourable toil, a calm and settled conviction. "*His* orthodoxy," whatever complexion it may assume, "is not the tumid and fungous excrescence of prejudice, but the sound and mellowed fruit of honest and indefatigable inquiry."*

"Were an *Indian*, who had never conversed with any rank or denomination of Christians, to pass into a Christian country, where there was a free toleration of the different sects and parties of Christians, where all had full liberty to propose and defend their several opinions, and were indulged in their respective forms of worship and government; let him converse with

* This description was applied more than thirty years ago by Dr. Samuel Parr, to one, who still presides with honour in the same dignified situation, which he then held, Dr. Martin Rowth, the head of Magdalen College, Oxford. See "Sequel to a printed Paper," p. 110.

those different parties, hear their distinct pretensions, and those arguments, with which they support their cause, without having any interest or particular attachment to bias him in favour of any one of them more than another; do not we think him likely to form a more impartial judgment of the equity of their several claims, and the true merits of the cause in general, than a *Christian*, who has been enlisted in a party from his infancy, who was taught the shibboleth as soon as he could lisp, and has since been often engaged in the heats of controversy?" This case is proposed in one of the tasteful and ingenious "Dialogues concerning Education," published eighty years ago by Mr. David Fordyce, and there seems great weight in the decision of the supposed speaker; that "the best way of leading young persons to embrace religious truth is to keep them as much strangers as possible to the distinguishing marks of parties, the names and tenets, and little peculiarities of contending sects, that no hostile prejudices may be formed, no antipathies nourished against any particular set of men, that humanity and benevolence may have full scope, and a man may be valued and loved, not because he has got his head crowded with this or the other set of notions, but for the honesty of his heart and the goodness of his life and manners."*

* Dialogue vi. p. 124.—The tendency of colleges, framed for the sole use and benefit of a particular church, sect, or class of men, to engender obstinacy, prejudice, and bigotry, with many other vices, is demonstrated by Dr. Powell, the celebrated master of St. John's College in Cambridge, in a sermon preached before that University. The whole of this discourse (the first of "Dis-

The object of education is not so much to fill the young mind with ideas and opinions, whether true or false, as to produce the full expansion of its powers, and thus to prepare it for engaging with vigour, facility, and success, in whatever exercises it may be required to pursue in after life. But, to promote this great end, its action must be free. "It is a universal maxim, that the more liberty is given to every thing, which is in a state of growth, the more perfect it will become."* If then the mind of man is, notwithstanding its liability to error and to vice, the noblest work of God, and if its improvement is productive of the most important and valuable results both to the individual and to all his fellow creatures, nothing is so much to be condemned as the subjection of it to unnecessary restraint. We treat with sovereign contempt and ridicule the long-established fashion of the Chinese in regard to the feet of their female children. But this custom is infinitely less cruel and barbarous than our own practice in bringing up our sons. As early and as strongly as is possible, we fix the bonds of prejudice upon their minds; and a crippled and tottering woman presents a far less deplorable proof of the consequences of early maltreatment than the man, whose powers of understanding, and whose natural and amiable feelings have been forced into one precise shape and narrow

courses on Various Subjects," published by Dr. Balguy, A. D. 1776), is eminently deserving the attention of those who are interested in the establishment of a new English university.

* Priestley's Essay on Liberal Education, A. D. 1765.

compass instead of being allowed to enjoy their free developement and healthful exercise.

Nor is it any justification of this practice, that it often fails to produce its natural and probable effect. It is indeed a glorious thing for mankind in every age and country, and it may well raise our gratitude and admiration to the Father of our spirits, that the refined and subtile essence of the human intellect sometimes eludes all tyrannical controul, and is from its very nature incapable of being brought by external force to the same feeble and powerless condition, which thongs, and locks, and chains, may produce in the corporeal frame. But no thanks are due to the practice of the English Universities, if Locke and Milton became great in spite of the imputation of contumacy, and the threats of chastisement or expulsion, or if, in later times, the ardent noble spirits of Lowth, Cyril Jackson,* and Symmons, have soared

* A late author has published the following remarks on the character of Dr. Cyril Jackson:

"I consider the removal of Mr. Jackson (from the office of sub-preceptor to his present Majesty) as a national calamity. I knew him well. He was a man of a master mind; eminently qualified to educate a young prince. After he had quitted the office of sub-preceptor to the Prince of Wales, he took orders, was made Dean of Christ-church, and dwindled into the character of a schoolmaster. Those who have only known him while Dean of Christ-church will form a very inadequate idea of the powers of his mind." Recollections of the Reign of George III. by John Nicholls, Esq. M. P. Vol. i. p. 393.

If such was the melancholy change, what is the necessary inference? What must be the state of academical education in England, if the conduct of it in the highest of its departments could transmute the philosopher, the patriot, the philanthropist, into

far above the dread of statutes, creeds, and academic censures.

It is doubtful whether that pliable and submissive spirit, which is the aim of academic restrictions of opinion, is more productive even of quietness and peace than the utmost liberty of judgment. Whatever attempts are made to secure uniformity of faith, some differences will yet remain; and, since the *temper* of the disputants is that which makes them either calm or violent, it signifies little in this respect whether their discrepancy of sentiment be great or small. Let students of all sects and parties meet together in a well-constituted university; the effect of its instructions will be to correct in all the spirit of dogmatism and intolerance. "Learning has a lovely child called Moderation, and Moderation is not afraid or ashamed to show her face in the theological world."*

the mere schoolmaster? But is it not probable, that Dr. Jackson rescued himself from the imputed deterioration, when he resigned his office as Dean of Christ-church, and, to use his own expression, "had done with Oxford?" Such a man must have felt with painful indignation the truth of the following remarks: "Human formularies on men of genius are impertinent check-strings, causing them to stop, when they ought to proceed; to be cautious, where they should be resolute; timid, where they ought to be firm; slothful, where they should be industrious; and, even when they make discoveries, backward and procrastinating in communicating them: to men of very moderate abilities, and shallow, superficial arguments, they give a dangerous confidence, a popular boldness, an oracular power of appeal, an authoritative tone of decision: and men of weak capacities and humble attainments they keep in their state of infancy, and hold in leading-strings all their days." Dyer's Privileges of the University of Cambridge, vol. i. p. 547.

* Jortin, Preface to Remarks on Eccles. History.

Although therefore the *teachers* and *conductors* of the proposed seminary should widely differ in their private sentiments, they will not be the less likely to harmonize and co-operate, if only they be qualified for their office by a love of truth, by sincerity of character, and by possessing those manners, which every philosopher, every scholar, every Christian ought to have; nor will their vessel, like the ship in which Kæmpfer crossed the Caspian, be in danger of destruction, because its pilots do not understand one another's speech. If any tumults should be apprehended from the exercise of opinion among the *students*, they can arise only from injudicious attempts to confine it. A quantity of gunpowder, ignited in the open air, makes a flash and emits volumes of smoke, but without any very loud report or any tremendous consequences. Put the same quantity into the close and solid inclosure of a cannon: the application of the spark makes it the means of overthrowing towers and devastating cities. So it is in the action of the mind. Inquiry and the discussion of opinions cannot be prevented; and, if free, they cannot be very violent, or in any way injurious.

If we consider universities in regard to their influence not merely on their own members, but on society in general, the result will still be in favour of the utmost liberty of thought. The very object and constitution of such seminaries imply, that their superintendants are presumed to possess mental qualifications upon the whole superior to those of any other class of the community. For they are appointed to defend, expound, and illustrate every kind of truth,

and to direct and enlighten the minds of the young. Who then shall pretend to direct and enlighten them? It is evident, that, if opinions are to be imposed, the authority should be exercised, not *over* the university, but *by* the university: otherwise the seeing will be conducted by the blind. This was a century ago the situation of the professors of Turin, who were required by their master, the King of Sardinia, to follow in every thing the doctrines of St. Thomas Aquinas.* The King did this to please the Pope; and thus a system of mental slavery seemed to be established to perpetuate the ignorance of the dark ages. The youth of Piedmont were compelled to learn from no other teachers than the professors in the University of Turin: the professors were compelled to take their doctrines from the King: the King took them from the Pope; and the Pope took

* Keysler's Travels, vol. i. letter 31. The authority of St. Thomas Aquinas is now reinstated at Turin, after a temporary suspension during the dynasty of Napoleon.

The Roman historian gives us in the following account of the Emperor Hadrian a picture, no less instructive than amusing, of the situation of those learned societies, which profess opinions according to the dictates of arbitrary power.

"Quamvis esset oratione et versu promtissimus, et in omnibus artibus peritissimus, tamen professores omnium artium semper, ut doctior, risit, contemsit, obtrivit. Cum his ipsis professoribus et philosophis, libris vel carminibus invicem editis, sæpe certavit. Et Favorinus quidam, cum verbum ejus quoddam ab Hadriano reprehensum esset, atque ille cessisset, arguentibus amicis, quod malè cederet Hadriano de verbo, quod idonei auctores usurpassent, risum jucundissimum movit. Ait enim, *Non rectè suadetis, familiares, qui non patimini me illum doctiorem omnibus credere, qui habet triginta legiones.*"—Spartiani Hadrianus, xv.

them from St. Thomas. Nor are examples wanting in our own country. The acute and learned Provost of Oriel College assigns as a reason why Oxford "was one of the last fortresses, of which the modern system of natural philosophy took a formal possession," that "the Aristotelian physics were interwoven with the whole course of its studies and exercises, *and it was not easy to reconcile the abandonment of them with the language of the Statutes, which public officers were bound to inforce.*"* The case must be in some degree similar, wherever any restraint is imposed upon either the teachers or the students. Obliged to take their opinions from others, they are necessarily *behind* their age in understanding, instead of being *before* it. It becomes their business to maintain certain doctrines, not because those doctrines are true or important, but because they are imposed as the condition, on which great pecuniary advantages and great worldly honours may be enjoyed. Universities therefore, which are subject to the restraints of subscription to opinions, do and must oppose the entrance of truth into the public mind; whereas they ought to be like the blazing beacons, raised in ancient times upon the tops of mountains to diffuse light and convey intelligence from city to city and from nation to nation.

In the place, therefore, which shall be designed to

* *Reply to the Calumnies of the Edinburgh Review against Oxford*, 2d. ed. p. 16. On the influence of statutes in obstructing the entrance of *metaphysical* truth into Oxford, see *Dyer's Privileges of the University of Cambridge*, vol. i. p. 516, 517. *Note.*

furnish the best instruction to the highest orders of society, let every one consider it as a sacred duty owing to himself, to his country, to his fellow-creatures, and, above all, to the bestower of his intellectual powers, to preserve his mind free from a blind submission to authority; and let him ever remember, "Hoc exigere VERITATEM, cui nemo præscribere potest, non spatia temporum, non patrocinia personarum, non privilegia regionum." *

The following observations are here quoted, not for the purpose of suggesting a change of system to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, but as expressing the solid and deliberate conviction of many most enlightened clergymen of the Church of England upon the subject of subscribing abstruse formularies of faith on entering places of education.

"It seems it is a settled order in one or more of these renowned bodies, (who have happily discarded some other inconvenient customs,) that every one of above 12 years of age shall at admission subscribe our Thirty-nine Articles. Indeed, to propose tests of this kind to the fair consideration of grown men and able scholars, may not, perhaps, in every case be unjustifiable. But that they should be proposed to mere novices, and much more *imposed* upon the impuberty of their understanding, can scarce admit of any favourable, because scarce of any reasonable construction. For is not this supposing them competent judges of what they subscribe to? And yet, in subscribing to our Articles, they subscribe to some

* Tertullian. de Virg. Vel.

of the most abstruse points of theology, of which it is morally certain they cannot be competent judges;* since even men of advanced age and learning cannot sufficiently agree about several of them, and those some of the chief. If, indeed, our Articles were few and plain, consisting only of some of the most obvious and necessary truths, and every young scholar to be admitted were thoroughly instructed and examined in each before subscription; and if our preparatory schools (public and private) were what they ought to be, seminaries of a truly religious education, where our young people were trained up to virtue and piety, and taught as much Christian as heathen knowledge; if this were the case, the difficulty perhaps would not be so great, nor the demand of subscription so unreasonable, as now in many instances it seems to be. But, since there is usually a very great defect in school education, and very few of our youths comparatively are so happy as to be early and thoroughly instructed, as they ought, in the great principles of religion, we cannot but lament their being obliged to subscribe such articles of it, at their coming to the

* "Let it be but impartially considered, whether any raw youths (some of them, perhaps, scarce instructed in the first rudiments of Christianity) can be sufficient judges of the following articles, to mention no others; *viz.* Art. 3, 8, 9, 10, 13, 17, 20, 27, 36; and particularly Art. 35, the subscription to which is reckoned a virtual subscription to our two tomes of *Homilies*. Dr. Bennet (in his Directions for Studying, &c. p. 24.) thinks, that persons designing for orders ought to go through all the Homilies before they are ordained; because (says he) they are then to *subscribe* them. If so, ought not persons designing to be *matriculated* to go through them, because they also are then to subscribe them?"

university, as they never have been taught to understand, whilst they were in those schools, which undertook to prepare them for it. Upon the whole, we really and seriously judge, that as the imposition, wheresoever, or by whomsoever it may be insisted upon in this instance, can serve no manner of useful purpose; so is it in many cases (or we are exceedingly mistaken) not a little hurtful and prejudicial." *

The sentiments, thus avowed by the able and enlightened authors of the "Free and Candid Disquisitions relating to the Church of England," have been long acted upon by the Catholics and by the Protestant Dissenters, who consider the use of religious tests on entering their seminaries as not only unnecessary, but as tending to taint the native honour of ingenuous youth, and to render the mind familiar to the practice of unconvinced assent, instead of leaving to it the privilege and the benefit of embracing

* Free and Candid Disquisitions, A.D. 1749. Section x. § 1.

In November and December 1771, Mr. John Jebb, an eminently useful and active member of the University of Cambridge, published four Letters, addressed "to the Gentlemen of the University, who intend proposing themselves the ensuing January as Candidates for the Degree of B.A." In these admirable Letters (re-published in Jebb's Works, vol. i. p. 182—216) the able and upright author points out to the young men the propriety, and indeed the necessity of attending to the sense and evidence of those statements of opinion, "to the full approbation of which they were about to declare, that they *willingly* and *ex animo* subscribe." The reasons alleged were the same in their general tenour with those contained in the above extract: but they were exhibited with a clearness and force, which were perfectly irresistible. The Senate accordingly, on the 23d of June, 1772, altered the subscription on taking the degree of B.A. to its present form.

opinions as the result of inquiry. The only case of subscription, known among the modern Dissenters of England, confirms this general remark. In the academy at Homerton, over which a minister presides, eminent for his literary acquirements and his ardent love of religious liberty,* some of the students, designed to be educated as preachers among the Independents, were expected to subscribe "a declaration as to some controverted points of doctrine," which it must have required a long, minute, and laborious study to understand and believe, and which therefore a noviciate of integrity and reflection could not conscientiously subscribe. In 1811, the practice was exposed and condemned by a dissenting minister of respectability and influence in the same denomination, who, with others of his brethren, could not consent to degrade the candidates for a most useful and dignified office to a condition resembling that of the natives of Peru, who approached the presence of their Incas with a burden upon their shoulders as an emblem of their servitude.† Upon this remonstrance the practice was abolished.

Sect. III.—*Objection to the Proposed Plan, on Account of the Omission of Religion, answered.*

To all that has been advanced in favour of a university destitute of sectarian distinctions, a strong

* John Pye Smith, D.D.

† Thoughts on Subscription to Articles of Faith, by Robert Winter, D.D.

objection will be urged; *it does not teach religion.* The objection deserves a most attentive, respectful, and deliberate consideration, not because it may be echoed by multitudes of every sect, all of whom are eager for the inculcation of *their own* religion, but because men of the most profound piety, of the most virtuous principles, and of the most accurate and vigorous judgment, regard religion as the highest wisdom, and therefore think every plan of education essentially defective, which does not make ample provision for it.

The serious attention of such persons is solicited to the following prayer: it was written by one of the most sagacious of divines, and one of the best of men.*

"LORD, let no unseasonable stiffness of those that are in the *right*, no perverse obstinacy of those that are in the *wrong*, hinder the closing of our wounds; but let the *one* instruct in meekness, and be thou pleased to give the *other* repentance to the acknowledgment of the truth. To this end, do thou, O Lord, mollify all exasperated minds; take off all animosities and prejudices, contempt, and heart burnings; and, by uniting their hearts, prepare for the reconciling their opinions. And, that nothing may interrupt the clear sight of thy truth, Lord, let all private and secular designs be totally deposited; that gain may no longer be the measure of our godliness, but that the one great and common concernment of truth and peace may be unanimously and vigorously pursued. And do thou so guide and

* Dr. Hammond.

prosper all pacific endeavours, that those happy, primitive days may at length revert, wherein vice was the only heresy."

Is there any one, who can from his heart offer up such a prayer as this, and yet maintain, that a scheme, tending beyond all other human means to its accomplishment, is without religion? Rather let him acknowledge, that an establishment, which shall bring together young men of every sect to "get understanding," and shall induce them to lay aside for a while the petty animosities of party, appears eminently fitted to realize the great design of religion, that it is well adapted, according to the measure of human wisdom and ability, to promote "glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, and good will among men." "This," said Chrysostom,* "is the rule of the most perfect Christianity, this the exact boundary, this the highest summit of excellence, to seek what conduces to the common good."

Mr. Jefferson, formerly President of the United States of North America, a man of the highest rank in intellectual and moral endowments, in his account of the "Proceedings of the Commissioners for the University of Virginia,"† states, that although "in conformity with the principles of the constitution, which places all sects of religion on an equal footing," they have proposed no professor of divinity, yet "the proofs of the Being of a God, the Creator, Preserver, and Supreme Ruler of the universe, the author of all the relations of morality, and of the laws and obliga-

* Orat. 25. † Printed at Richmond, U. S. A.D. 1818.

tions these infer, will be within the province of the professor of ethics." "Proceeding thus far," says he, "without offence to the constitution, we have thought it proper at this point to leave every sect to provide, as they think fittest, the means of further instruction in their own peculiar tenets." Of the large space, which Natural Religion occupies in every well-arranged course of ethics, and of the grandeur and sublimity, the supreme importance and the beneficial influence of the topics, which it includes, any reader may satisfy himself by opening Professor Stewart's "Outlines of Moral Philosophy," where more than 70 octavo pages are occupied with the heads of lectures upon this part of his subject.* In like manner, instruction in the fundamental branches of religion, as well as of morality, will form a proper and an indispensable part of the course of philosophy, which will be hereafter proposed for a new English university. Nor is it necessary, that professors of divinity should be excluded from it. It is only required, that all sects and classes should have an equal right to the use of its advantages. If therefore a rule be adopted for the establishment of theological professorships, in conformity with which any sect or society, or even any individual may introduce them,

* P. 173—244. Second Edition. Edinburgh, 1801.

How much may be done by a professor of ethics to raise the moral character and to cherish the virtuous feelings of youth, is beautifully shown in Leechman's account of the manner of teaching adopted by the amiable and accomplished Dr. Francis Hutcheson at Glasgow.—See the Memoir prefixed to his *Moral Philosophy*, v. i.

the just and equal principle of the university will not be infringed, and its utility will probably be extended.

Nor is it requisite that religious worship should form no part of the provisions of the university, although it be not performed, as at Oxford and Cambridge, according to the prescriptions of an Act of Parliament. If it should appear to be the general wish of the members of the projected university, that Christian instruction should be given, and offices of devotion performed under its special care and direct controul, perhaps this may be done even in England, (for it is done in America,) without violating the equal rights of the various sects of religionists. Agreeably to a unanimous vote of the academical faculty and the board of trustees of Transylvania University in Kentucky, the ministers of every denomination in the adjacent town of Lexington are invited to preach in turn, during the session, in the University chapel. Catholics, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, Methodists, and Jews, are included in this number. "It is believed," says President Holley, "that this is a measure eminently calculated to unite public sentiment, to secure public confidence, to advance the interests of truth; to extend catholicism, and to excite a spirit of emulation in the cause of religious liberality." If the English cannot adopt a similar course, supposing it expedient and necessary, their inability can arise only from that unsocial and unchristian spirit, which would be best corrected by their union for the purposes of liberal education.

But the friends of such a scheme will probably be led by mature reflection to conclude, that their seminary will flourish most, and will best promote the interests even of virtue and of piety, if it is destitute of those functions, both municipal and ecclesiastical, which the universities founded in former ages have esteemed among their highest privileges and their most sacred and indispensable duties. All these offices will be better left in the hands of those who already discharge them. Why should a university erect itself into a court of law, or pretend to judge of crimes and misdemeanours, when magistrates are appointed, to whom this business properly belongs? And why should the same body undertake to regulate the daily devotions and to form the moral and religious principles of its young members, when this is done by their parents, tutors, and guardians at home, and by the ministers of religion in places of public worship? Let the university teach well the languages, the sciences, and the liberal arts. Let its professors and students perform their daily devotions in private, in their families, or in the colleges, or other academical societies, to which they may belong; and on the Sunday let them resort to the parish church, to their college chapels, or to whatever other places of worship they may prefer. Their piety will then be real and sincere in proportion as it is not forced.

The essential distinction of the university now projected is the absence of every kind of political or religious test as the mode of admission to its honours and advantages. Persons of every religious party will avail themselves of its institutions in whatever

way may best suit their peculiar principles, views, and circumstances. Those who prefer placing their young men in private families, to be either under their own controul, or under the controul of individuals responsible for their good behaviour, may adopt this course. Those, on the other hand, who are attached to collegiate discipline, or who think it necessary to inculcate their peculiar doctrines and observances, may erect colleges to any extent, may enact their own statutes, and enjoy the benefits of the university on whatever terms they please, provided they do not violate its laws. And it is desirable that these laws should be as few as possible. When we think of the folio volumes filled with the statutes of Oxford and Cambridge, our only fear for a new university is, not that it would be in want of laws, but lest it should legislate too much. Laws must be framed for the administration of its funds, for the useful and effective discharge of its several offices, and for the further extension of its advantages. But all provisions regarding dress, eating and drinking, amusements and exercises, and all practices whatsoever, which are not necessarily connected with the primary object of the institution, should be avoided on the principle, that its usefulness is abridged by every thing tending to render its benefits less accessible to any individual, however disposed, or however circumstanced.

But it will be asked, shall impiety, shall open profligacy, be allowed within the precincts of a university? The answer is, that to exclude them entirely were impossible. They show themselves in the existing Universities in defiance of locks and bolts, of

statutes, censures, fines, expulsion. *To restrain them to the utmost* ought to be the endeavour of all, who are concerned in the business of education, and more especially of those, to whom this duty properly belongs, of tutors, of parents and guardians, and of the conductors of separate colleges or other subordinate societies. The university may best promote this object, not by threats, which cannot be executed, nor by exclusions, which would only cut off the unhappy offender from the chance of reformation, but by enforcing regularity of attendance upon his academical exercises, by affording him means of distinction apart from those of vice and folly, and by furnishing in the various branches of literature and science pursuits, which may excite his curiosity, preoccupy his attention, and stimulate him to an emulation, innocent, virtuous, and noble. To accomplish these objects, each professor should be held accountable for the conduct of the students *as members of his class*, though not as members of society. Of their attendance upon him he is competent to judge: of their conduct elsewhere he must be almost or altogether ignorant. But, if a young man is punctual and diligent in his attendance there, this is of itself a considerable security for the general propriety of his behaviour: at least it affords ground to hope for his improvement. For one man, who has engaged in the arduous duties of a professorship, to examine with accuracy into the moral characters of his numerous hearers is impossible: to pretend to do it, or to undertake the task of correcting their irregularities,

could only end in deception, in disappointment and mortification.

The greatest masters of learning are often not the best judges of human character, and, if they set themselves up as censors of morals, will probably involve themselves in such contentions as will make them bitterly repent, that they departed from their appropriate sphere. A moralist, admirably skilled in the practical knowledge of human nature, has shown, that the extravagances of youth are no decisive indications of innate depravity, but that they may proceed, even in their greatest excesses, from superior natural endowments misdirected and unimproved: for as the finest of the inferior animals become either exceedingly vicious and unmanageable, or in the highest degree obedient and useful, according to their training, so boys of the most active and vigorous understandings, and of the most ardent and susceptible dispositions, will infallibly become distinguished in proportion to their native capacities and the warmth of their original temperament; but their eminence will be in what is good or in what is bad according to the direction, which they receive in youth.* To exclude therefore even a profligate young man from the benefits of academical education may be to complete the ruin of a noble mind, and to prevent it from reaching the highest possible attainments in wisdom and in virtue.

* Socrates, in Xen. Mem. l. iv. c. i. 3, 4. The remarks of Godwin, in the conclusion of the 16th Essay of the Enquirer, on "Early Indications of Character," are to the same effect, p. 156—159.

The generous founder of New College at Oxford had too much wisdom and knowledge of the world, and, may we not add, too much Christian charity, to expect spotless perfection even in his highly favoured beneficiaries. When it was reported to him, that some of those, whom he had appointed Fellows, had imbibed the errors of Wiclif, he replied, "Absit ut ego tantum perpusillo ædificio meo arrogem, ut fælicius sit quam Arca Noæ, ubi tamen inter homines octo unus reprobus inventus est; aut melius sit, quam domus Abrahami, cui dictum est, Ejice ancillam et filium ejus. Et quis tandem sum ego, ut in centum meis unus aut alter non impingat, quum in Apostolica illâ Diaconorum electione unus in hæresim prolapsus fuerit, et in electione Domini unus ex duodecim Apostolis degeneraverit in Judam proditorem?" * The errors of youth should be regarded with tenderness as well as with solicitude. To restrain them will require a skilful, steady, and experienced hand, a careful attention to the dispositions and propensities of each individual, and a paternal concern for his reformation and improvement. The duty cannot be discharged except by a father, or by one, who occupies the place of a father. Expulsion is often a harsh measure, which relieves the teacher from trouble and exertion by cutting off from the offender nearly all chance of his return to virtue and honour. Instead of having recourse to this and other summary processes, which alone *professors in a university* can in general adopt, the formation of the principles and characters of the students ought to be

* Vita Gul. Wicami, Oxon. 1690, p. 129.

committed in all cases, where the guidance of a superior is required, to those who will bestow their special attention upon it,—to *parents*, *guardians*, and *tutors*, to the *ministers of religion*, and to the *heads of families and colleges.*

SECT. IV.—*View of the Minor Academical Institutions in England; Special reasons which should recommend the proposed Scheme to the Church of England, to Catholics, &c.*

A BRIEF account may here be introduced of the present state of academical education in England, as conducted in institutions distinct from the two great seminaries of learning.

Even the clergy of the Established Church in remote situations have found it necessary, on account of the distance of Oxford and Cambridge, and the great expenses incurred by a course of study at those places, to institute minor colleges for the education of ministers to officiate in their church. In the year 1817, a clerical institution was commenced at St. Bees in Cumberland, by the Right Rev. G. H. Law, D.D. now Bishop of Bath and Wells. About the same time, another was established at Llampeter in Cardiganshire, under the direction of the present Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Burgess. Both of these seminaries have been found eminently useful. A third institution of a similar kind is said to be projected at York. The necessity of some further provision for the education of clergymen of the

English episcopal church has been ably represented by one of their number in a letter addressed to the Right Hon. Robert Peel, the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and Member of Parliament for the University of Oxford. Of the importance of this author's statements, and the force of his reasonings, it becomes his brethren candidly and seriously to judge. He recommends as "a suitable and encouraging model for the church college," which he would wish to see established in England, the Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church in North America.* The Trustees of this excellent seminary, among the reasons for its removal from New York to Newhaven in Connecticut, observe, that "its contiguity to Yale College will afford it the advantages of the valuable library, and the public lectures of that institution."† This affiliation of the

* Enquiry into the Studies and Discipline adopted in the two English Universities, as preparatory to Holy Orders in the Established Church. By a Graduate. 1824. P. 42.

† Plan of the Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, Hartford (Connecticut). 1820. P. 7.

The Rev. Thomas Gisborne (in his "*Enquiry into the Duties of Men in the higher and middle Classes of Society in Great Britain*," 5th Ed. vol. ii. p. 90, 91), appears to have anticipated in some respects the "*Graduate's*" view of this important subject.

"The present system," says he, "highly pernicious to all, is singularly detrimental to young men of small fortunes destined for the church. It initiates them into a course of profusion culpable in itself, and productive of habits and desires particularly unbecoming the profession for which they are designed, and the stations which in general they are to occupy. And it is likely to have this further consequence, that by much the greater part of country clergymen, whose sons, from the habits in which they are brought

minor ecclesiastical establishment to the more comprehensive institution formed for public and general purposes, is no less creditable to the liberal spirit of its projectors than manifestly beneficial in its tendency.

The Catholics and Dissenters, who aim at the advantages peculiar to a university, commonly send their sons to Scotland, or to the Continent. They have, however, numerous academies established in England with a view to obtain as far as possible the same benefits without the risk and inconvenience of a foreign education. The Catholics have six colleges of this description at Stonyhurst, in Lancashire; at Ushaw, near Durham; at Ampleforth, near York; at Oscott, near Birmingham; at Downside, near Bath; and at Old-Hall Green, near Ware, in Hertfordshire. The greatest number of pupils at any one of these establishments is something less than 200; the smallest may be 40 or 50. In all of them a school for boys is a part of the establishment, only a small proportion of the entire number going through courses of study in the higher departments of science and literature. The system of instruction is skilfully arranged so as to lead the mind from the elements of knowledge, adapted to the capacities of boys, to the more advanced studies, which may be necessary in manhood either to the exercise of the sacerdotal

up at home, are better adapted than any other particular class of individuals to form a succession of ministers of the gospel, will soon be no longer able, even if they are able at present, to support the charges of a young man's education at a university, and at the same time to do justice to the rest of their family."

functions, or to the honourable discharge of the various duties, which belong to Englishmen in the middling and higher ranks of society. All the scholars in these seminaries are carefully imbued with the principles of the Catholic faith, and are expected to conform to the same worship and discipline. Great attention is paid by their numerous masters and professors to the preservation of perfect purity of language and morals; cheerful and healthy recreations are encouraged among them, and carried on with great spirit; and their imagination is cultivated, and the refinement of their taste promoted, by the care which they bestow upon eloquence, poetry, and music.

Among the different denominations of Dissenters, the Independents, or Congregationalists, have the greatest number of seminaries for academical education; *viz.* one at Hoxton, and another at Homerton, near London; one at Rotherham, and another at Idle, in Yorkshire; a fifth at Blackburn, in Lancashire; a sixth at Axminster, in Devonshire; and a seventh at Newport-Pagnel, in Buckinghamshire. The students at these places are all educated with a view to the Christian ministry. At Hoxton there are 40; at Homerton, 20; at each of the other seminaries the number is not more than 15. From the Report of the Hoxton Academy for 1825, it appears that the annual subscriptions amount to 1,449*l.* and its whole annual income to 2,894*l.* The same Report states, that the foundation of a collegiate edifice, intended to supersede the present premises at Hoxton, has been recently laid at Highbury, and that the site of the building, consisting of four acres of land, has

been purchased for 2000 guineas, and presented to the institution by the Treasurer, Mr. Thomas Wilson. The tutors are the Rev. William Harris, LL.D. Henry Foster Burder, M.A. and John Hooper, M.A. The "Homerton College Society," which commenced A. D. 1730, has lately erected a neat and spacious edifice for the accommodation of its tutors and students, at the expense of about 10,000*l*. The present tutors are the Rev. John Pye Smith, D.D. and the Rev. William Walford. The entire course of study in this seminary occupies six years. The first two are principally devoted to the classics; to which is added through the remaining four, the study of natural and moral philosophy, of history, and of theology. An interesting account of the plan of education pursued in this establishment may be seen in the Appendix to the Life of Mr. Spencer of Liverpool, by Thomas Raffles, LL.D. At Rotherham, besides the study of theology, and of the Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Syriac, and other ancient and modern languages, the institution provides instruction in mathematics, chemistry, metaphysics, and natural and moral philosophy. These studies are conducted by the Rev. James Bennett, Theological Tutor, and the Rev. Thomas Smith, M.A. Classical Tutor.

The theological seminaries, supported by the Baptists, are the academy at Bristol, for many years under the care of the late Rev. John Ryland, D.D. which provides accommodation for 33 students; that at Bradford in Yorkshire, superintended by the Rev. William Steadman, D.D.; a third at Stepney, under

the care of the Rev. Dr. Newman; and a fourth at Abergavenny, in Monmouthshire.

The Presbyterian, or Unitarian Dissenters, support an academy at York, under the superintendence of three tutors, the Rev. Messrs. Wellbeloved, Turner, and Kenrick. This institution differs from the other dissenting colleges in admitting both Divinity and Lay students. It probably yields to no seminary in England, either in the extent or the accuracy of its literary and scientific pursuits. The usual number of students is about 30. As in the dissenting colleges, which have been already enumerated, the greatest source of income is from annual subscriptions. The subscription list amounts to between 700*l.* and 800*l.*; the total annual receipts, arising from this together with various other sources, are more than 2000*l.* The principal part of the permanent property of this institution consists in an estate of 310 acres near Kirk-by-moorside. The following extract from the Annual Report explains its plan of study.

"The Trustees, in pursuing their primary object, the Education of Dissenting Ministers, have endeavoured to render the Institution at the same time subservient to the liberal education of youth in general, without distinction of party or religious denomination, and exempt from every political test and doctrinal subscription. The course of instruction for the Christian ministry comprehends five years; but it is so arranged, that, with the single exception of the study of Hebrew, the whole course during

the first three years, is equally suitable for lay students.

"In the first year, the students are instructed in the Greek and Latin Classics, in Ancient History, and in Latin and English Composition; in the elements of Plane Geometry, Algebra, and Trigonometry.

"In the second year, they proceed in the Greek and Latin Classics, and in the practice of composition in English and Latin; and read a course of Modern History, in pursuing which their attention is particularly directed to the History and Principles of the English Constitution. They are instructed in the Geometry of Solids, of the Conic Sections, and of the Sphere, and in the higher parts of Algebra. Lectures are also given on the Philosophy of the Mind, on Ethics, and the elements of Political Science.

"In the third year, they are further instructed in the Greek and Latin Classics, and in the Belles Lettres; in some of the higher branches of Mathematics, and the Newtonian system of physical Astronomy. Lectures are also delivered on Logic; and on the Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion. An extensive course of Natural and Experimental Philosophy and Chemistry forms a part of the business both of the second and third sessions."*

To the institutions now enumerated must be added,

* Numerous details respecting the history, progress, and discipline, of Manchester College, York, may be seen in the Monthly Repository of Theology and General Literature, especially in vols. ii. and xi. See also the Life of Dr. Percival of Manchester, by his son Edward Percival, M.D. p. lxxvii. &c. In this instruc-

besides more private and domestic seminaries, the institution at Cheshunt for the education of Methodist preachers, founded by the Countess of Huntingdon; the Academy for the education of Dissenting Ministers, founded at the beginning of the last century by Mr. Coward, conducted formerly at Northampton and Daventry, and now at Wymondly House in Hertfordshire, distinguished, through a long course of years, by encouraging the spirit of free inquiry, and rendered eminent by the talents, virtues, and public usefulness of its teachers, and many of its pupils;* and last, though not inconsiderable in importance and respectability, the Presbyterian College at Caermarthen, which is conducted upon the same liberal principles, by the aid of funds derived from the noble bequest of Dr. Daniel Williams.

Several of the institutions comprehended in this enumeration possess extensive and valuable libraries, with philosophical apparatus, and museums of natural history and of other curiosities.

Besides theological seminaries, it appears proper to notice also those established for *civil* purposes, as the East India College at Haileybury, near Hertford;

tive memoir, we are informed that the scheme which Dr. Percival most approved for the education of ministers to officiate among the body of Dissenters, to which he belonged, was to maintain them as students in one of the Scottish Universities, and that he deemed Glasgow the most suitable for this purpose.

* The early history of this academy may be read in Orton's Life of Doddridge. Its present tutors are Messrs. Morell and Hull. The students are 20 in number.

that at Croydon, maintained likewise by the East India Company; and the Royal Military Colleges. These institutions are well known to be frequented by great numbers of pupils, and to be under the superintendence of able and distinguished professors. A very accessible account of that at Haileybury, under the article *Hertford*, in Rees's Cyclopedia, exhibits a remarkably comprehensive and liberal plan of instruction, conducted by men of great celebrity in their several departments.*

* In 1824 there were 172 pupils at Haileybury. The general expense was 18,012*l.* 3*s.* 1*d.* out of which 10,698*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* was paid by private contributors. The Company had, therefore, only expended 7,313*l.* 3*s.* 7*d.* At Croydon, the total number of scholars and cadets was 374. The expense to the Company of educating each student was 89*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.* besides what they paid themselves.—*Oriental Herald, for Oct.* 1824.

The institution of a university without sectarian distinctions is perhaps quite as important, when considered in connexion with the good government of the countless and multifarious population of Hindoostan, as when regarded in relation to the prosperity of any class of religionists in this country. It was doubtless with enlightened views of the expansion of the understanding, produced by intercourse with a large body of polished and studious competitors, that Lord Grenville recommended the education of the East India Company's civil servants at Oxford and Cambridge. In such a university as is now projected, these advantages would not only be enjoyed in at least equal proportion, but would be open to *all* his Majesty's subjects, to Catholics no less than Protestants, and to natives of Scotland, who furnish a very abundant supply of East Indian functionaries, no less than to Englishmen. Nor is it to be apprehended that after the adoption of such a scheme, the young orientalists would find themselves in the condition of their great predecessor, Sir William Jones, who, when he was a student at Oxford, and was anxious to learn the Arabic language, found it necessary to procure the services of a foreigner, to convey him

The various religious bodies, by which the above mentioned academical institutions are supported, would no doubt greatly rejoice, if to all the benefits at present conferred through their instrumentality they could hope to unite the still higher honours and advantages belonging to an education in a university. Upon the establishment of a university, free from sectarian restrictions, and formed solely for the purpose of giving to all applicants the best literary, scientific, and professional instruction, it is probable, that Colleges would be founded in subordination to it, not only by members of the Church of England, but by Catholics and Protestant Dissenters, whose Christian spirit of union and co-operation would thus be evinced in a way most honourable to their religion and their patriotism.

Of all parties the Church of England ought to be the most forward in the generous and liberal patronage of such a scheme. The odious policy of the apostate Julian,* who, in order that he might most effectually degrade the Christians and destroy their influence, forbade them to study the liberal arts, the Church of England must disdain. Her vast pre-eminence in

thither, and to maintain him at his own private expense, and who pursued this plan, notwithstanding the facilities arising from the high distinction which he had already gained as a scholar, notwithstanding also the existence of two Arabic professorships in the University, and the confident and often repeated assertion, which he himself appears to have countenanced, that every man may in that seat of the Muses find ample means of instruction in every conceivable branch of human knowledge.

* Socrates, Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 12; Am. Marcellinus, l. xxv. c. 4.

wealth, power, and influence, ought to place her far above every jealous fear: the superior illumination, which may be presumed to be the result of her exclusive enjoyment of the advantages of the two existing Universities, ought to make her friendly to the unlimited diffusion of knowledge, and of all the honours and the benefits, which knowledge can bestow; and the commanding station which she occupies should be considered by her as imposing an obligation to exhibit a corresponding spirit of generosity, and to employ her unrivalled means of exalting and improving the national character for the noblest end,—for the promotion of the undissembled and disinterested love of truth and virtue among all descriptions of the people. The reasoning of an accomplished prelate of this Church, occasioned by some objections to the formation of the Royal Society, will be no less applicable in the event of the establishment of a new university. Believing the Church of England to be grounded on the basis of scripture and reason, and vindicating the "unprejudiced mixture" of its members with ingenious men of other sects for philosophical purposes, he maintains, that its supporters "ought not to be apprehensive of this free converse of various judgments," and adds, "Our doctrine and discipline will be so far from receiving damage by it, that it were the best way to make them universally embraced, if they were oftener brought to be canvassed amidst all sorts of Dissenters."*

* History of the Royal Society, by Thomas Sprat, D.D. Bishop of Rochester, Part II.

All the principal parties, which differ from the Church of England, appear to be interested in the same object, not merely on the general grounds, which have been already explained, but on considerations to be derived from their peculiar circumstances. Among these minor bodies, those, to whom the establishment of a national university is the most important, are the members of the Church of Rome. They include many of the most ancient, noble, and opulent families in the kingdom. All their habits, feelings, and associations, convince them of the inestimable value of a corresponding education for their youth, who can thus only be secured from the ruinous and degrading effects of fashionable pleasures, and who must seek in science and literature that occupation of their leisure, and that lustre proportioned to their rank, which the sons of Protestants find in their admittance to the offices of magistrates and legislators.

The same considerations will powerfully weigh with Protestant Dissenters as they rise to easy circumstances by their industry and skill. The most obnoxious part of the exclusive system now in force against them is the denial of those equal opportunities of liberal and honourable education, without which all the fruits of their commercial and manufacturing employments are of comparatively little value. Their efforts to obtain these advantages, as far as they are attainable by unchartered seminaries, are highly creditable to their generous zeal, more especially if we take into account the continual propensity of their members to desert them, and join the Established Church as soon as they become the most capable of contributing to

the expenses of such institutions. But, notwithstanding the great and unremitting exertions of the various classes of Dissenters to obtain for their youth the advantages of academical education, they cannot be ignorant of the far higher benefits which would be open to them in a university; and the value, which they place upon these benefits, is sufficiently manifest from the practice of all those parents who, in order to secure them, send their sons to other countries. The sense of the real or fancied wrongs, which they sustain, and of the public distrust and suspicion implied in their legal disqualifications, necessarily tends to produce an unfavourable effect upon their social disposition, and causes their integrity to be accompanied by a portion of reserve, and a disposition to irritation, very much at variance with the general benevolence of their principles and feelings, perhaps also by an excessive attachment to their peculiar doctrines and observances, and by false conceptions of the views of those, whom they regard as their oppressors. No method would be better suited to produce perfect openness, confidence, and simplicity of temper and manners, in union with sterling honesty, than their admission to a place of academical education, patronized and frequented upon equal terms by themselves and by Churchmen. Let them be enabled, by the just and impartial provisions of the Government, and by their own free co-operation with discerning and like-minded members of the Established Church, to resort to a seminary, where they may be habituated to the pursuit of truth and the admiration of goodness; where their minds may be enlarged by inter-

course with the professors of a different religion; and where, by means of all the influences of enlightened philosophy, classical eloquence, and ardent emulation, they may be imbued with public spirit and generosity of sentiment, enriched with science, and adorned with taste; let them thus be allowed the opportunity of rising to a level with the graduates of Oxford and Cambridge in the possession of all those mental and moral endowments, by which, and not by wealth or titles, the hearts of men are touched and their conduct influenced; let them be at length admitted to this participation in the noblest privileges of Englishmen, and they will feel their true dignity, receive their due proportion of deference and respect, and be able to stand forward on all occasions with a prevailing voice as the advocates of religious freedom.

There are other religious professors, not inconsiderable in numbers and in wealth, to whom this subject cannot fail to be interesting. The Jews, that insulated people, whom Christians in all parts of the world profess to pity, while they despise, and attempt to convert, while they persecute and insult them, have been forced by the existing institutions of the land and the prevailing sentiments of the people to hold intercourse with their neighbours almost solely for the purpose of pecuniary profit. But of what use are the ample fortunes, which they amass, so long as they cannot cultivate their superior powers of taste and understanding? Access to a place of liberal education, to halls of learning and science frequented by all sects and parties, would infuse into them views and motives, which would remove the reproach now

clinging to their names, and elevate them from the mere power of accumulating wealth to the means of *using* it well, and of improving the character and condition, first, of their own nation, and then of those among whom they are dispersed. Napoleon Bonaparte, though no friend of liberty, deserves to be mentioned here as having acted a part in this point more enlightened, and more conformable to the mild, equitable, and all-embracing spirit of Christianity, than any of his contemporaries. While France was under his government, Jews were admitted into the Polytechnic and Normal Schools, and were even sought out and encouraged to enter them.

Another sect, of whom special mention should be made in discussing the project of a new university, is the Society of *Friends*. The pursuit of learning and science, and the cultivation of taste, are advancing among them; but from Oxford and Cambridge they are shut out, not only by the same regulations, which exclude all other sectaries, but by the *oaths*, which are required by the statutes of those Universities to be taken on many different occasions.

To the various bodies of religious professors, these considerations are respectfully submitted in the hope that they will gladly join in the endeavour to establish and support a university open to all without distinction, convinced of its great importance to the honour of the nation, to the promotion of knowledge and truth, of virtue and good manners, of public spirit and patriotism, and to their own respectability and improvement, both as separate sects, and as individual members of society.

SECT. V.—*Portion of the Year to be passed at the University: Session to last ten Months.*

THE attention of the reader is now requested to other inquiries regarding the plan, discipline, government, and studies of the projected seminary, which, though of very inferior moment to the topics already discussed, will claim attention, *if* a new university be founded, and are themselves strong arguments in favour of the necessity of its foundation.

The first of these minor inquiries relates to the portion of time, which ought to be devoted to study. Those who go to the Scotch Universities repair to them early in November, and leave them about the end of April, or the beginning of May. Thus half the year is left unoccupied by academical employments.* In the English Universities, a still smaller portion of the year is appropriated to study, and great expense, great loss of time, and much distraction of thought, are produced by the division of this portion into three or four separate terms.† In the East

* "An improvement, which has been frequently proposed, but from prejudice, the result of ancient custom, never carried into effect, is the prolongation of the session of college. At present, it continues only for five months, which, besides being attended with other inconveniences, obliges the professors to meet the students no fewer than three times a day, and to conduct and conclude their lectures more rapidly than would be necessary in a longer session."—Account of the Marischal College of Aberdeen, in Sir J. Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland, v. xxi. p. 139.

† Undergraduates at Oxford are required to keep four terms in each year, two by six weeks' residence, and two by three weeks' resi-

India Colleges at Haileybury and Croydon, in the Dissenting academies, and in the colleges of the Roman Catholics, the session is never less than nine months. The North American colleges so far adhere to the model of the University of Cambridge in this country as to have three vacations, which, however, do not amount altogether to more than 10 or 12 weeks. The only exception appears to be Harvard College in Cambridge, Massachusetts, where it has been lately proposed to abridge the length of the three vacations from nearly 14 weeks in the whole to 10 weeks. In the universities of Germany there are every year two sessions, each of five months. The professors are in general very industrious, and their only period of relaxation is the interval between one session and another, which, however, they contrive, in many instances, to prolong from a month to six weeks. Some continental seminaries, as was the case in the Irish College at Salamanca, have no vacations. Mr. Campbell, in his suggestions respecting the

dence for each term. Residence during 12 such terms is necessary to take the degree of B. A.; and an additional residence during one term of three weeks to take the degree of M. A. (See the Oxford Calendar.) The periods of residence are not longer which are required at Cambridge.

The remarks offered here and elsewhere upon the practice of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge are by no means introduced for the purposes of censure or reproach. The object is simply to apprize those, who are interested in the subject, of matters of fact; and, if the regulations of those celebrated bodies are made the subjects of animadversion, the design is, first, to show that some other establishment is wanted which may not be liable to the same objections, and, secondly, to employ the experience of former times as a guide for the present age.

projected College in London, makes a proposal to the same effect, and recommends with a view to its accomplishment, that there should be two sets of professors to lecture during alternate seasons. It appears, however, that some intermission is certainly necessary for the convenience and reasonable gratification of both tutors and pupils; and it may be proposed, that this should extend from the beginning of July to the end of August, besides a vacation of a week or 10 days at Christmas, and two or three holidays at Easter.* Allowance being made for the time to be occupied at the end of every session in public examinations and other annual meetings, not less than nine full months will thus be left for the purposes of literary and scientific instruction.

The adoption of such a regulation as this in preference to the systems of either the English or the Scotch universities will, it is hoped, approve itself to every impartial and reflecting mind. It cannot be questioned, that youths from 16 to 21 years old are at least as capable of continued and strenuous application to study as those of inferior age; nor can it be doubted, that the useful employment of their time is at least equally important. Indeed no period of life appears so valuable as this; for it is then that the

* Dr. Knox, in his well-known animadversions upon the two Universities (*Liberal Education*, vol. ii. sect. 45), proposes, that instead of four terms amounting, according to his calculation, to about 13 weeks, there should be "but one term, continuing without interruption from the 1st of October to the end of July, with a week's vacation at Christmas." He considers "two months as quite sufficient for the purposes of visiting friends and relations, and for all useful recreation."

character is chiefly formed, the powers of the mind most rapidly expand, and the promise is given of the attainments and excellencies of the future man. Is it not almost a profligate waste of this precious age to pass scarce half of it in regular and systematic industry? Of those, who go to be educated at a university, education is commonly the sole business. What good reason can possibly be assigned, why this business should not occupy nearly their whole time and attention? If recreation be necessary, as undoubtedly it is, it may be enjoyed with far greater advantage both to the health of their bodies and to the vigour of their minds by being evenly intermixed with their academic labour, than by being referred to a few seasons of repose, succeeding to periods of intense and uninterrupted exertion. It may be alleged, that the students at our present Universities work during the vacations, although they cannot then attend lectures, or reside in college. But, if a university presents any decided advantages over mere private study, and if the student is benefited by frequenting it during five or six months of the year, his improvement may be expected to be proportionately greater by prolonging the period of his attendance to nine or ten months. The longest time is short enough for the work, which is to be performed; and, if instead of the limited and imperfect range of inquiry now presented by the highest rank of our academical instructors, a new university shall seek to gain celebrity and to attract crowds of students by offering a course of education more extensive, various, and complete, it can only do so by occupying a much

larger portion of the year. By fixing upon a session of 10 months' duration, twice as much may be taught as is now taught at the Scotch and English universities, even independently of any improvements, which may be made in the method of instruction.

Sect. VI.—*Course of Studies.*

The length of the session being thus determined, *four years* appear sufficient. to communicate as perfect an acquaintance with literature and science as is generally requisite to academical education, and to teach every thing important, which is now taught with that view in the British Universities, together with such additional learning as is necessary to supply their deficiencies, and to render the scheme of instruction uniform and complete. *The best mode of employing these years* must be ascertained from a regard to the situation and wants of man, and to the natural progress of his mind in attaining knowledge.

Leotychidas, the Spartan, having been asked what free boys ought most to learn, answered, "What will be useful to them, when they have become men."* Had this obvious dictate of common sense been acted upon, the practice of all civilized countries and of all ages subsequent to its delivery would have been widely different from what it has been. The education of young men of rank has been almost solely conducted, both in ancient and modern times, by

* Plutarchi Apoph Laconica.

professed philosophers, by schoolmen, and by ecclesiastics. The situation of such persons causes their knowledge to be speculative rather than practical, and their inquiries to relate rather to the subjects of abstract, though sublime contemplation, than to those which every day address themselves to the outward senses, and enter into the occupations of common life. That knowledge, which they esteem as their peculiar and most honourable distinction, they make it their business to communicate to their ingenuous pupils; they are not solicitous, perhaps they are not able to impart what they consider as a baser order of ideas. Among the Lacedemonians and nations of little refinement, *useful* knowledge became as a matter of necessity the sole object of pursuit;—the knowledge of warfare, of husbandry, and of the arts of life. The rise of a learned and philosophical class of men produced in the further advancement of society a zeal to excel in scholastic attainments, not for use, but for distinction; and the exercise of the mind in the keenness of logical and rhetorical disputation took place of the inuring of the body to deeds of skill and prowess. A third æra seems now to have arrived in consequence of the general diffusion of science among all classes of the people. Education is sought, not merely by professional and speculative men, but by the manufacturing and the commercial world. All wish to understand the principles of the operations, which they perform, and to make philosophy the universal handmaid to the arts. If, in accordance with the present ideas of mankind, and especially with the habits, views, and interests of our own

countrymen, a course of liberal education can be devised of great practical utility, it will have the advantage of keeping attention alive by its continual reference to passing events, to recent improvements and discoveries, and to the most important pursuits and interesting inquiries of those who partake of its benefits. It will repay to them the expenses of a university education, and add to the wealth of the nation at large. The ideas, which it will impart, in consequence of their perpetual application to the scenes of ordinary life, will be frequently revived, and hence will be less likely to vanish from the memory than those, which can be recalled only by books or by learned conversation.*

It would nevertheless be an error fatal to all the noblest aims of education, if the object were to make it useful only in what we may consider as the Spartan sense of the expression, or in the way, in which chemistry is useful to a printer of calicos, geometry to a land-surveyor, or arithmetic to a merchant's clerk. No instruction deserves the name of *liberal*, which does not chiefly impress, not the love of money,

* —— Apt the mind or fancy is to rove
Uncheck'd, and of her roving is no end;
Till warn'd, or by experience taught, she learn,
That not to know at large of things remote
From use, obscure and subtle, but to know
That which before us lies in daily life,
Is the prime wisdom; what is more is fume,
Or emptiness, or fond impertinence,
And renders us in things, that most concern,
Unpractis'd, unprepar'd, and still to seek.
Milton, Par. Lost, b. viii.

but the love of truth. Philosophy may indeed, and will shed her rays upon the most sordid toils of the mechanic as well as upon the sublimest inquiries of the man of genius, just as the sun enlightens the grass and stones, on which we tread, no less than the spacious valleys, the majestic mountains, and the sailing clouds, which form our distant prospect. But to make academical education a mere trading concern, to pursue knowledge only as the road to opulence and luxury, would be most degrading to the character of the individual, and most injurious to the manly and independent spirit of the nation. The nature of the human mind, its vast capacities for information, and its ardent thirst after improvement, demand higher flights, and more various, difficult, and remote inquiries.

> For man loves knowledge, and the beams of truth
> More welcome touch his understanding's eye,
> Than all the blandishments of sound his ear,
> Than all of taste his tongue.*

To gratify these purest and worthiest desires, which our Creator has implanted, and thus to refine, enlarge, and elevate our minds, to make them capable of a superior order of pleasures, and to give them strength and vigour for every necessary exercise of personal virtue, of patriotism, or of religion, is to make education useful in another and an infinitely

* Akenside, Pleasures of Imagination, b. ii.

higher sense; and to accomplish this ought to be the chief design of a well-constituted university.*

Now what is it that the author of nature presents to that spirit of curiosity, which he has created? It is the whole universe of being. It comprehends all existing things, whether visible or invisible, whether capable or incapable of thought and feeling. But these objects are presented in a certain order; first, the visible; afterwards, the invisible. Ideas enter through the avenues of the senses, which engage the attention, and employ all the powers of the mind, long before any reflex acts are exerted upon the mind itself. Even when the understanding has advanced considerably towards its maturity, sensible and external objects are far more easily contemplated, and more certainly and thoroughly understood, than the inward operations of the principle, which contemplates them. Hence the method of instruction, which was chosen by some of the leaders of the ancient philosophy, and which was clearly expressed by Aristotle in the names

* The error of considering the *utility* of academical education only in the low, vulgar, and contracted sense of that term, is ably exposed by the Rev. Dr. Copleston, now Provost of Oriel College, in the last chapter of his vindication of the University of Oxford, in reply to the Edinburgh Review. The splendid eloquence, the exact and masterly, though not uniformly correct reasoning, the solid learning, and, above all, the exalted views of the improvement of individual character, which pervade this pamphlet, cannot fail to rescue it from the oblivion, which commonly awaits works of occasional controversy. The reader is particularly referred to it for a defence of *Classical* Education, in ch. iii., and for an account of the studies pursued at Oxford in ch. iv.

of its two grand divisions, PHYSICS and METAPHYSICS, is founded in the nature of the human mind, and ought to be followed in a well-constituted system of academical education.

In many seminaries, however, and among the rest in the principal Universities of Scotland, the reverse order is adopted.* It seems to have been imagined,

* In England this practice was vigorously attacked by Milton, in his golden "*Tractate upon Education.*" It has been the fashion to depreciate this treatise. Yet the principles maintained in it appear to be founded on most just and accurate, as well as most enlarged and comprehensive views of human nature. The immortal author points out, as he professes to do, "the right path of a virtuous and noble education," although the details of his plan would now require considerable modifications in order to accommodate it to the advanced state of knowledge. The only serious obstacle to its execution is that which he himself states at the close of his work; "This is not a bow for every man to shoot in, that counts himself a teacher, but will require sinews almost equal to those which Homer gave Ulysses."

Since Milton protested so strongly against presenting to young novices at their first coming "the most intellective abstractions of logic and metaphysics," the system of education, at Cambridge more especially, has been completely changed, probably in a great measure through the influence of the master minds of Sir Isaac Newton and Dr. Isaac Barrow. Physics, at least some branches of that study, have now almost expelled metaphysics.

Professor Jardine, of Glasgow, defends the Scottish practice in his valuable "Outlines of Philosophical Education," p. 240—256, 2d Ed. Perhaps his arguments are scarcely consistent with his statement at p. 32, where he condemns the custom of employing the dialectics of Aristotle "as an instrument for initiating young persons into their philosophical studies," and justly observes, that "it is by no means to be attributed to the inventor of the art."

In the Belfast Academical Institution, which is principally copied from the College at Glasgow, the physical sciences employ

that before young men could be expected to reason well, it was necessary to teach them *logic*, which is the art of reasoning. But, as art is always founded upon science, the philosophy of the human mind was seen to be a pre-requisite to the attainment of this art: a knowledge of the instrument was judged indispensable in order to learn how to use it. Thus the most difficult and abstruse of all the speculations of philosophy were placed at the very threshold of her temple, and its avenues were occupied by those evanescent forms, which are the least adapted to engage the vivid fancy, to raise the admiration, or to fix the attention of the youthful mind.

Nature and experience prescribe an opposite course. In the actual acquirement of knowledge, the mind always ascends from particular to general ideas, from the concrete to the abstract. The art of logic, therefore, with the whole doctrine of ideas, of method, and even of syllogisms, will be best understood after the mind has been habituated to accurate distinctions and to clear conceptions in individual cases, after natural history has made it familiar with the arrangement of objects into genera and species, and natural philo-

the last year of the course. See "An Account of the System of Education in the Belfast Academical Institution," 1818.

About the middle of the last century, the professors in both the Universities at Aberdeen adopted the plan of teaching the *physical* sciences first, and the *metaphysical* last, instead of beginning with logic, according to the old system. See in Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland, v. xxi, the account of "the University and King's College of Aberdeen," p. 85, 86; and in "the Account of the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen," the truly philosophical observations on the course of study at p. 115—119.

sophy has taught the process of induction. Physics then should form the first branch, and it will be found, that they will also constitute by much the larger branch of a well-arranged system of academical education. This portion of the course will comprehend the study of matter as opposed to mind; of all external objects, which by themselves or by their effects influence our corporeal frame.

But all the changes of material substances are of two kinds. They consist in the motions and mutual actions, either of large masses of matter, or of its minute and ultimate particles. Although the former class of appearances became the object of philosophical investigation long before the latter, and even now occupies almost the sole branch of physical science, upon which honours are bestowed in the universities, yet the latter may with advantage take precedence of it in the order of arrangement, and certainly claims equal attention with it upon every consideration, which can recommend useful and ornamental knowledge to the pursuit of an active, enterprising, and accomplished people. In extent, in practical utility, and perhaps we may add, in accuracy and precision, Chemistry yields to no science whatsoever. Its aptitude to the employments of a very large proportion of the English nation is manifest; its subserviency to our public prosperity and greatness is indisputable. The explanations which it furnishes of many natural phenomena, and of innumerable processes in the arts, and the variety, the beauty, the quick succession, and the magical brilliancy of its exhibitions, are adapted to allure the mind to the love

of science, and to correct, where it exists, the propensity to indolence, frivolity, and dissipation. It must not be supposed, however, that chemistry is only fitted to attract the eye by its gay and rapid changes, or to show material substances passing from form to form, and from colour to colour, like the fabled Proteus under the hand of Aristæus.* Astronomy is not more exact than chemistry will become; and, as the former exalts the mind by carrying it to the consideration of the vast masses, which move through immeasurable space, so the latter affords an exercise no less intense and refined by leading it in an opposite direction to the study of those atoms, those inconceivably minute particles, which by their regular combinations form the substance of all material bodies. Unless, therefore, it be deemed necessary, in compliment to our established modes of education, to keep out of view one half of the prospect of the universe, chemistry, which treats of the motions and mutual actions of the ultimate constituents of bodies, will claim equal attention with natural or mechanical philosophy, which treats of the motions and mutual actions of the bodies themselves.

Among the qualities, by which material objects are known and distinguished, the most important is *quantity*. Time, space, force, number, dimension, are all ascertained by finding whether things are equal, greater, or less. The necessity of the study of quantity as the basis of all physical knowledge has been admitted from the first dawn of philosophy, and

* See Virg. Georg. iv. 405—410, 440—442.

was expressed among the ancients by the name, which they gave to it, of *Mathesis*, or learning. Although mathematical propositions are as abstract and general as the truths of metaphysics, the ideas which they express of lines, points, numbers, and quantities, requiring for their accurate conception as intense and purely intellectual exertions, yet they are continually illustrated by tangible objects, and by diagrams, figures, or letters, which are exhibited to the eye. By creating at will any number of individual cases conformably to the terms of each proposition, the learner is rescued from the necessity of relying altogether upon his yet immature faculties of abstraction and generalization. Boys of 15 or 16 years of age are perfectly capable of learning mathematics with these customary aids; and as this science is in no small degree conducive to the accurate study of chemistry, as well as of natural philosophy, it may with propriety precede them both.

Besides the sciences, which have been mentioned, there is a most extensive, delightful, and improving branch of knowledge, which goes beyond the contemplation of the general properties of matter, and of its motions and mutual actions, and is employed in the description and classification of all the objects of sense, whether animate or inanimate, which exist upon the earth, including also the description and examination of the earth itself. This is the science of natural history. Its proper office is to describe things as they are, and to arrange them into classes according to their differences or resemblances. It never fails to be attractive to the young, and it is peculiarly fitted to

exercise their powers of discrimination, and to communicate habits of order in the arrangement of their ideas. As the objects which it describes are principally living and sentient creatures, either plants or animals, it illustrates many questions belonging to the science of metaphysics.

The studies now enumerated are all conversant with *things;* to them must be added the study of the *names* of things. In many systems of education the latter has been pursued almost to the exclusion of the former, as if the knowledge of names were more important than the knowledge of the things themselves.* Some inquirers, on the other hand, have wished that an acquaintance with things should be made the sole business of education. The truth lies between these two extremes. The knowledge of oral language is not only necessary as the principal method by which one man shares in all the intellectual

* Quis ferat, tantùm temporis in addiscendis linguis, imò vel levissimè addiscendis, teri? Quæ quidem utiles ac necessariæ, ut ad notitiam rerum accedamus; sed profectò tanti non sunt, ut maximam juxta ac optimam juventutis partem absumant. Etenim, non hæc est scientia, sed scientiæ tantùm ὄργανον et clavis. Ecquid verò insanius quàm instrumentis ita se tradere, ut ea, quorum sunt instrumenta, adipisci non valeas? Ecquid stultius, quàm vividiorem ac saniorem ævi partem ita clavibus comparandis impendere, ut ad recludendam arcam, expromendosque thesauros, non vacet? Quantò meliùs et studiosis et studiis consuleretur, si ista compendio fierent; si multâ lectione, multâ scriptione, multâ omne genus exercitatione, intra breve temporis spatium memoriæ mandarentur linguæ, ad eundem ferè modum, quo linguæ etiamnum superstites, exercitationis ope, brevi tempore vulgò addiscuntur; sicque ad rerum ipsarum notitiam promptior juvenibus aditus pateret? Jo. Alphonsi Turretini Oratio Rectoralis, A. D. 1703.

attainments of the rest of his species, but constitutes a most extensive and curious science, which is intimately connected with the history both of nations and of man regarded as a creature capable of progressive improvement, and which may be employed with the utmost advantage to exemplify the conclusions of mental philosophy. Notwithstanding the objections so often urged against the practice of spending the prime of life in reading Greek and Latin, no employments have been yet devised, which are better fitted to exercise any intellectual power, whether memory, judgment, or imagination. It should be recollected, that good education is designed, not merely to store the mind with ideas and principles, but to give it the power of adding continually to its stock of ideas and principles. He, who discovers truth himself, stands incomparably higher in the scale of intellect than he, who merely receives it on the authority of others. That system of education is in the same measure to be preferred, which unfolds the various faculties of the understanding so as to inure and prepare it for all those efforts and investigations, by which difficulties are surmounted, and the doubtful glimmerings of distant light followed out till they lead to the brightness of open day. What then can be a more improving part of the study of philosophy than the investigation of its first origin in the writings of the luminaries of the ancient world, and the comparison of their conceptions, however indistinct, or fanciful, or erroneous, with the correct and well-established deductions of modern science? It need scarcely be added, that, if history and biography should form a

part of education, the knowledge of ancient authors is indispensable, and that in poetry and eloquence they stand unrivalled.* But it is to be observed, that with a view to the ensuring of these benefits from the cultivation of Greek and Roman learning it is necessary, that that study should be accompanied by a far more extensive scheme of scientific and philosophical instruction than has yet been permitted to form a part of English university education. The enlarged spirit, which dictated the following words of one of the great ornaments of classical literature in the last century, is to be desired in no persons more than in the Professors of the learned languages in a new university:

"Etsi permagnum Critico præsidium est in mentis vi et sollertiâ, nemo tamen omnia in eo posita putet. Comparandum est alterum instrumentum, eruditio; quæ ut parum aut nihil sine ingenio, sic sine eruditione ne perspicacissimum quidem ingenium quicquam effecerit. Rectè Crates Mallotes, quem hæc ipsa ars nobilitavit, apud Sextum Empiricum, in Critico requirit omnis liberalis doctrinæ, quam Græci ἐγκυκλοπαιδείαν vocant, scientiam. Si igitur ad Criticam adspirare velis, de Cratetis præcepto, ante grammaticam, non vulgarem istam, sed altiorem, percipias, habites in Poetis et Oratoribus, peragres latissimum historiæ campum, mente complectaris

* For a comprehensive, eloquent, and argumentative display of the advantages of the study of the Classics, which is at the same time acute and philosophical, and which will not be suspected of originating in prejudice or bigotry, see Godwin's Enquirer, essay vi.

universam philosophiam, et his omnibus adjungas Mathesin, maximè partes illas, quæ mentem exacuunt ad verum cernendum. Ex tantâ tot artium ac disciplinarum ubertate Critica demum efflorescit et redundat: tali instructu ornatuque eam oportet esse comitatam."*

To a plan of study including all the principal branches of mathematics, chemistry, natural philosophy, natural history, and metaphysics, together with an extensive course of Greek and Roman literature, some readers will object, that it seems adapted to give a short and superficial view of a multitude of subjects without communicating a full and accurate knowledge of any one, and that it will consequently tend to fill the minds of the young with an empty conceit of the extent and variety of their acquirements, but not to infuse that humble and cautious spirit, which is fostered by sound learning, and is the characteristic of true philosophy. But in the course of four sessions, each of ten months' duration, it will be found, that all these sciences may be taught as completely as any one of them is now taught at any college in England. There is not one of them, which does not claim the attention of every cultivated mind by its extent and grandeur, by its practical utility, and its union of elegance with exactness, and by the splendid discoveries, the profound investigations, and the beautiful and ingenious theories, which illustrate and adorn the successive periods of its history. In favour of a varied and copious system of education it may be urged, that the young require a diversity in their pursuits in con-

* Vita Hemsterhusii a Davide Ruhnkenio.

sequence of that impatience of confinement to a single occupation, that vivacity, and that aptitude for various exertion, which mark their period of life; and that, if an individual is ill qualified to excel in one study, it is but just that he should have an opportunity of gaining distinction in another. "That therefore this roving curiosity may not be unsatisfied of," to adopt the reasoning of Dr. Sam. Johnson in a case analogous to the present,* "it seems necessary to scatter in its way such allurements as may withhold it from a useless and unbounded dissipation; such as may regulate it without violence, and direct it without restraint; such as may suit every inclination, and fit every capacity; may employ the stronger genius by operations of reason, and engage the less active or forcible mind by supplying it with easy knowledge, and obviating that despondence, which quickly prevails, when nothing appears but a succession of difficulties." If respect be had to the future employments of manhood, an introduction to all the principal branches of knowledge appears necessary, in order that a young man may make choice of those to be the subjects of more minute and laborious study, for which he is peculiarly fitted by his natural capacities, or his acquired tastes and habits. It may also be argued, that the arts and sciences, with the literature of ancient and modern times, are so connected, that each throws some portion of light upon the rest; that "*Erudition* consists in the

* See the preface to Dodsley's Preceptor, p. x.—xii. To the weighty decision of Johnson may be added the highly respectable authority of Dr. Aikin, in Letters to his son, v. i. letter i.

mixture of various studies, as a chorus is formed by the union of different voices;"* and that narrow prejudices, contracted habits of thinking, exclusive and bigotted attachments and the pedantry of particular professions, are most likely to be avoided by taking extensive views of the entire compass of human knowledge, and of the eminence obtained in their respective departments by all the great leaders of intellect. Human nature is a wonderful compound of many faculties, corporal and mental. All these admit of improvement to a degree, which often excites mingled surprise and delight, and always affords an abundant recompense to exertion. It has been well observed by a writer, whose opinion upon this subject is entitled to the highest respect, that one of the most essential objects of education is "to cultivate all the various principles of our nature, both speculative and active, in such a manner as to bring them to the greatest perfection of which they are susceptible." "It is not," says he, in the course of his excellent illustrations of this maxim, "It is not in the awkward and professional form of a mechanic, who has strengthened particular muscles of his body by the habits of his trade, that we are to look for the perfection of our animal nature: neither is it among men of confined pursuits, whether speculative or active, that we are to expect to find the human mind in its highest state of cultivation. A variety of exercises is necessary to preserve the animal frame in vigour and beauty; and a variety

* Ut e diversis vocibus constat chorus, ita variarum disciplinarum mixturâ constat eruditio. *Seneca.*

of those occupations, which literature and science afford, added to a promiscuous intercourse with the world in the habits of conversation and business, is no less necessary for the improvement of the understanding."*

In order to carry into effect the scheme of liberal education, the general principles of which have been stated, it appears desirable, that six able, intelligent, and industrious professors should be appointed: four to teach philosophy, and two to teach languages. Let us inquire how their exertions may be best apportioned, so as to complete the course of instruction extending through four sessions.

1. It has been suggested, that *Mathematics* should be the principal study of the philosophical class during the First Session. But it is probable, that all the branches of pure mathematics may be taught as fully as their subsequent application to other arts and sciences will require, in the space of little more than six months. Thus more than a quarter of a year will remain for studies, which are not taught in the existing universities. Let this time be occupied by some of the departments of Natural History. A judicious professor, intent on the improvement of his pupils, will be guided in many particulars by a regard to

* Stewart's Philosophy of the Human Mind, v. i. part ii. s. i. These remarks appear to have been suggested to the eloquent Professor by the observations of Dr. Barnes, in his valuable essay, "On the Affinity subsisting between the Arts," the whole of which is well deserving of attention in connection with the present subject. See Memoirs of the Lit. and Phil. Society of Manchester, v. i. p. 73, 74.

their various tastes, or to their peculiar deficiencies. From such motives, he will make the mathematical part of his course longer or shorter in different years, not considering it necessary to exercise in the details of arithmetic, algebra, and geometry, those who are familiar with them already, but entering more fully into the higher branches of his science, and also allotting a larger space of time to Natural History, when he is satisfied that they are all competently furnished with the knowledge of mathematics, and prepared to apply their knowledge to the subsequent pursuits of physical science.

The course of mathematics may be suitably followed by lectures and exercises in *Geography*, explaining the use of the globes, the construction of maps, the history of geographical knowledge from the earliest times, the progress of discovery, and the leading features in the physical structure of the globe, in the principal divisions of the human race, and in the successive conditions of society.* Since the publications of Humboldt, to omit many other travellers of enlarged and philosophical views, geography can no longer be regarded as a trivial or puerile study. To be ignorant of it would be inexcusable in any one, who pretends to the name of a man of science, and it ought consequently to be considered indispensable in a well-arranged and comprehensive system of liberal education. Indeed, if

* An admirable course of instruction in geography and botany, approaching to the plan here recommended, is described in Mr. Wellbeloved's elegant Memoirs of the Rev. William Wood, F. L. S. p. 75—80.

properly taught, it cannot fail to be, in the highest degree, attractive to the young academic: it must become his guide in the study of every branch of either natural or civil history: and it will render the perusal of voyages and travels, not merely a delightful recreation, but a source of many interesting inquiries, and many varied and extensive speculations.

After a suitable portion of time has been allotted to geography, six weeks perhaps, or two months, will remain, at the close of the session and at the most convenient season of the year, for the study of *Botany*. It is difficult to conceive that any man of taste or curiosity should despise the examination of that part of the creation, which meets his eye continually under the most beauteous and graceful forms, which administers innumerable supplies to his various wants, and abounds with the most admirable proofs of the wisdom and goodness of the Supreme Being. The physiological and the systematical part of botany have each their advantages. The former is the best introduction to a knowledge of organized nature, exhibiting the first and plainest links of that vast chain, which connects all living substances; the latter affords the most perfect specimen of classification, so that, all that the Dialectic Art teaches respecting *genus* and *species* in general propositions, Botany demonstrates in a far more pleasant and intelligible way by actual examples. This study, besides the useful and agreeable exercise of the understanding, is adapted to infuse the purest tastes, prepares a fund of never-failing delight for every rural walk, and often forms

a bond of union among cultivated and amiable minds: and, if religion ought to enter into the scheme of a well-conducted education; if that religion at least, which "takes no private road," but forms part of the theories of all sects without exception, deserves to be taught in a national university; if, moreover, Natural Religion is the foundation of a just and enlightened faith in Divine Revelation; and if it is desirable, that the religious impressions of the best educated part of the nation should not be the mere fervour of enthusiasm, or the blind assent of the mind to authoritative dictation, but be established upon rational conviction and deliberate choice, and associated with the most pure and delightful sentiments; then Botany may assume a still more dignified rank among the sciences; for certainly there is no branch of natural knowledge, which affords proofs so clear, so accessible, so abundant and various, so striking and interesting and attractive, of the existence, attributes, and providence of the Great First Cause.

2. The chief business of the Second Philosophical Class is proposed to be *Chemistry*. Under this may be included *Electricity*, *Galvanism*, *Magnetism*, the chemical properties of *Light*, and perhaps the science of *Optics* in general. It will also comprize an account of the various processes in the arts, which depend upon chemical combination; and it will prepare the way for lectures upon *Mineralogy* and *Geology* at that season of the year, which, as in the case of the lectures on Botany, will admit of the study of these sciences in the book of nature itself. All these pursuits being at present popular and fashion-

able, nothing needs to be said in recommendation of them. Abundant time will be found in the course of a single session to teach all of them well; and any students, who are not sufficiently familiar with mathematics, may employ this interval to prepare themselves for the business of the third year, by entering a second time the class of the professor of mathematics, or by availing themselves of the aids of more private tuition.

3. It is proposed, that Chemistry should be succeeded by *Natural Philosophy*. The Third Philosophical Class will therefore study *Dynamics*, the theory and practice of *Mechanics*, the construction of machinery, and especially the principal machines and engines now employed in manufactures. The business of *Engineering* in its more general sense, with *Hydraulics*, *Hydrostatics*, and *Pneumatics*, will enter into the arrangement, and will lead on to the contemplation of still greater masses of matter as viewed in the Newtonian theory of the universe, and in the present system of physical astronomy.

There is an art, for which no professorship at present exists in this country, and which therefore has the greater need of a reception into a new university. This is *Architecture*. It ought to be grounded upon principles of philosophy as well as of taste. So far as it is *useful*, it is established upon mathematical reasoning, or at least upon those results of experience, which mathematical reasoning may bring to greater certainty and precision: so far as it is ornamental, it may form a valuable connecting link between the studies of the third and fourth sessions, since it appeals to the sense

of the sublime and beautiful; it is a kind of tangible poetry; it is like painting with the grandest materials; it exercises the imagination, without requiring more of refinement and abstraction than commonly belongs to the youthful student. It is intimately connected with the most interesting and important views of the state of society, and of the history of mankind, in different ages and regions of the world. It is particularly adapted to give correctness to the eye, and accuracy to the hand in drawing. The theories also respecting the origin of the different kinds of architecture, and their various decorations, exercise with an agreeable entertainment the imaginative and reasoning faculties. All its more remarkable productions will rise with additional beauty and grandeur before him, who has learnt to contemplate each building as a whole formed by the skilful adjustment of the necessary component parts, and who can follow the views of the architect in his conception of the vast design. How different the impressions of the visitant of King's College Chapel at Cambridge, who enters it with the general sentiments of awe, which must pervade every susceptible mind, and who amuses himself with its grotesque carvings, the story of its painted windows, and the rich and mellowed gaiety of the colours, which they cast upon its pavement—from his, who comprehends its admirable frame-work, pursues its lines of pressure and bearing from the base of its broad and ponderous buttresses to the keystones of its fixed, yet almost floating arch, and justly views it as one of the greatest efforts of human skill and labour in any age of the world. Such

a structure as this shows how we have permitted at least one noble art to decline, and should teach us, that our first seats of education want to be re-visited by the spirit of the Wykehams and the Waynfleets.

The admission of this and other subjects connected with the principal business of the class must in every case depend upon the tastes, attainments, and views of the professor and his pupils. It may not be possible to form a definite scheme of lectures for this, or any other year of the course, by anticipation: probably, if the teacher be allowed sufficient latitude of choice, the best arrangement will ultimately be adopted as the result of his own observation and experience.

In subjection therefore to this uncertainty, and in the prospect of several weeks remaining unoccupied after an extensive course of Natural and Experimental Philosophy, it may be proposed, that this time should be devoted to Natural History, and that the study of the *Animal Kingdom* should thus succeed to the study of the Vegetable and Mineral kingdoms as prosecuted in the first and second sessions. The object of the professor in this part of his course should be, to give a view of the great classes of animated nature as defined in the arrangements of Blumenbach, Cuvier, and other distinguished naturalists; to explain the general structure and component parts of animal bodies, and, if possible, to present a concise and luminous sketch of *human* and *comparative Anatomy* and *Physiology*, with an account of the phenomena of life and feeling, and a more particular description of the conformation and functions of the external organs of sense. His pupils will thus be prepared to

advance in the following session to the study of mental and moral philosophy.

4. It is proposed, that *Metaphysics* in the primary and extensive sense of that term should occupy the attention of the Fourth Philosophical Class. An investigation of the faculties of the *Human Mind*, and of the means of their useful exercise and improvement, will lead to an account of the art of *Logic*, to an inquiry into the origin and structure of oral, written, and pictorial *Language*, and into the doctrines of *General Grammar*, and to a view of the principles of *Taste* and *Criticism*, with their application to the *Fine Arts*, and especially to *Poetry* and *Oratory*. The study of man in his intellectual capacities will be followed by the study of him as a moral and social being. An account will be given of the *Passions* and *Affections*, and of the principal theories of *Virtue*. In tracing the nature and obligation of the several *Duties* as represented in the systems of ancient and modern philosophy, the teacher will introduce, as is done by the Ethical Professors in Scotland, a view of the evidences and doctrines of *Natural Religion*; and, agreeably to the practice of the same Professors, he may conclude his course with lectures on *Jurisprudence*, *Government*, and *Political Economy*.*

While the students proceed through the successive departments of physical and metaphysical philosophy, they ought to be furnished with the best opportunities

* In some instances Political Economy, on account of its great extent and importance, is made the subject of a separate course in the Scotch Universities. This plan is pursued with the most distinguished ability and success by the gentleman, who has for many years occupied the chair of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow.

of carrying on the study of Languages. For this purpose it has been suggested, that two Professors should be appointed, viz. a Professor of *Grecian*, and a Professor of *Roman Literature*. Perhaps however, in the infancy of the institution, one may be sufficient: perhaps in its maturity, a considerable number may find employment. Instruction in various other languages, both ancient and modern, may be the object of subsequent arrangements: but the present habits of the nation require provision chiefly for learning Greek and Latin, and a critical acquaintance with them seems indispensable to a polite and comprehensive education. But to use the words of a most wise and accomplished man, the Rector of the University at Geneva, "quam optandum, ut in legendis antiquitatis auctoribus, non rudis tantùm ac jejuna fieret eorum expositio, non verbum verbo simpliciter reddere docerentur adolescentes, sed fracto cortice nucleum adirent, et quid splendidè dictum, quid acutè collectum, quid verum, quid falsum, quid utile, quid non, sedulò monerentur; imo et, verborum occasione, innumera ad Res Naturales, ad Historiam, ad Geographiam, ad alias artes spectantia, si non perfectè atque ad amussim, saltem rudi Minervâ ipsis traderentur."* The most celebrated writings of antiquity, when taken as the subjects of exegetical and illustrative lectures by teachers not merely versed in the niceties of grammar and philology, but acquainted also with the various branches of science taught in the Philo-

* J. A. Turretini Oratio Rectoralis, A. D. 1704, De Studiis Emendandis et Promovendis.

sophical Classes, will daily exercise the taste and judgment of the students, enabling them to compare ancient with modern attainments, and leading them to observe the gradations of knowledge, manners, and society, while the full details of each branch of philosophy in systematic order, and in its present maturity, will be set before them in other lectures, accompanied by experiments, by practical applications, and by numerous ocular demonstrations.

Although it will not be expedient to compel attendance upon the lectures of the Professors of Literature, yet a certain order may be devised with reference to the usual attainments of young men before going to the university, and to the most profitable method of pursuing their classical studies. *Ancient History* and *Antiquities* may suit those who are in the first Philosophical Class; these may be succeeded by the *Epic*, *Dramatic*, and *Lyric Poets*, and by the *Orators* of Greece and Rome; and the more advanced students may be employed upon the *Moral* and *Philosophical* writings of the ancients. Such a course of reading as this is now pursued with the greatest advantage in some of the more studious colleges at Oxford; nor will it be imputed to Oxonian prejudices, if a large portion of time and labour is claimed for Aristotle, whose enlarged and powerful intellect grasped all the variety of knowledge, which was attainable in his age, and would now, instead of sanctioning the practice of the Universities, which so deeply revere him, have insisted upon such a comprehensive range of inquiry as is here suggested.

To those, who condemn this course of academical study as entirely new, untried, and hazardous, a reply may be offered in the words of an elegant and judicious philosopher, whose remarks have been confirmed by the general voice of all the most distinguished writers on education since his day:

"This certainly is no new device; for it was that, which Plato intended, when he enjoined his scholars to begin with Geometry; whereby, without question, he designed that his disciples should first handle *material* things, and grow familiar to visible objects, before they entered on the retired *speculations* of other more abstracted sciences.

"According to this counsel of the father of philosophers, it would not be amiss, if, before young scholars be far engaged in the beaten tracks of the schools, the mysteries of *manual arts*, the names of their instruments, the secrets of their operations, the effects of *natural causes*, the several kinds of *beasts*, of *birds*, of *fishes*, of *plants*, of *stones*, of *minerals*, of *earths*, of *waters*, and all their common virtues and qualities, were proposed to be the subjects of their first thoughts and observations. It may be here suggested, that the vast number of such particulars will soon overwhelm their tender minds before they are well established by time and use. But, on the contrary, it is evident, that the *memories* of *youth* are fitter to retain such sensible images than those of a fuller age. It is *memory* that has most vigour in children, and *judgment* in men; which, if rightly considered, will confirm what I said, that perhaps we take a preposterous course in education by teaching *general rules*

before *particular things*, and that therein we have not a sufficient regard to the different advantages of *youth* and *manhood*. We load the minds of children with doctrines and precepts, to apprehend which they are most unfit by reason of the weakness of their understandings; whereas they might with more profit be exercised in the consideration of *visible* and *sensible things*, of whose impressions they are most capable, because of the strength of their memories and the perfection of their senses."*

SECT. VII.—*Mode of Instruction by Courses of Lectures, with Exercises and Examinations.*

FROM the consideration of the subjects, which are most necessary and proper to be taught to young men at a university, we may pass to the consideration of the best *manner* of teaching them. From the first establishment of universities in Europe, instruction has been commonly given by *courses of lectures*. But at Oxford and Cambridge, these have gone almost into disuse, and now form only an optional and subsidiary branch of collegiate discipline.† An historian

* History of the Royal Society, by Thomas Sprat, D. D. Part III. sect. 4.

† The professorships at Oxford and Cambridge were in general instituted with the design of being of the same use there as similar offices in the universities on the Continent. The statutes of the University of Oxford make express and very excellent provisions for this purpose. Besides requiring each professor to speak so slowly that his hearers may conveniently take notes, they direct him

of the University of Cambridge describes in the following terms the entire efforts of a most eminent scholar to fulfil the duties of a very important professorship; "Mr. Richard Porson, the late Greek Professor, *once meditated* to deliver a course of lectures on Greek literature." * An *Apologist* of the same University says, "It is sometimes asked, what useful purpose is promoted by the professorships of Hebrew and Arabic stablished in both universities, when no lectures are delivered upon the subject?—To this we reply," he continues, "that though lectures are occasionally read on these topics, as is the case with the present Arabic Professor at Cambridge, yet the design of these institutions is not regularly to teach the elements of the language in question, which is best effected by private tuition, but to afford encouragement to the pursuit of an object, which presents but few attractions."† A most distinguished *Professor* in that University

to remain at the close of his lecture, and to reply with patience and kindness to any doubts or difficulties which any of them may suggest upon the subject of it. Excerpt. tit. iv. sec. ii. § 4. See also tit. v. § 3, 4, requiring the scholars to attend and to take notes.

* Dyer's History of the University of Cambridge, v. i. p. 215. Dr. Parr, in his defence of the English Universities in answer to Gibbon, gives a somewhat different account of this matter; "Mr. Porson, the Greek Professor, has not read more than one lecture, but that one was πίδακος ἐξ ἱερῆς ὀλίγη λιβάς.—He has written, however *books*," &c. Spital Sermon, p. 124. Perhaps the lecture, alluded to by Dr. Parr, was the Inaugural Address, which every professor is required to deliver on his admission.

† The literary and scientific pursuits, which are encouraged and enforced in the University of Cambridge, briefly described and vindicated, by the Rev. L. Wainewright.

delivers the following opinion, which in his own practice he appears to have followed more closely, when he held the very lucrative professorship of Divinity, than when at an earlier age, and with far less of academical emolument and general fame, he discharged the duties of the professorship of Chemistry; "The lectures of professors and tutors are doubtless of great use in every science; but their use does not consist so much in rendering the science intelligible, if we except the first elements of the abstract sciences, as in directing the attention of the students to the best books on every subject; and, if to this they add a frequent examination into the progress, which the students have made, they will have done all that reasonably can be expected from them."*

Those who have been educated at any of the Scotch or the continental universities, and who are indebted principally to the lectures of professors for whatever scientific knowledge they possess, will be not a little surprised at the tenour of these observations. The hundreds and thousands of students, who in Scotland alone pay annually at the rate of from one to five guineas each, for the privilege of attending a single course of lectures, may possibly pause for a moment to ask, whether their money and their yet more pre-

* Bishop Watson's collection of Theological Tracts, preface, p. vii.

The reader may find in Lowth's *Oratio Crevíana,* in Parr's note in answer to Gibbon attached to the *Spital Sermon,* and in Copleston's *Reply to the Edinburgh Review,* a statement and vindication of the present practice at Oxford and Cambridge.

cious time have not been thrown away. But they may be persuaded that the lectures of professors would not have attracted crowds, as they have from the first establishment of universities in Europe to the present day, if they had been of only secondary importance. The professorships would have become sinecures every where, as they have become, with very partial exceptions, at Oxford and Cambridge, and the students would have bestowed their fees, together with their attendance, upon more effective teachers. The prevailing inclination of men, brought up in the two sister Universities, to deny the utility of courses of lectures, could scarcely fail to be removed by looking beyond their private experience. Without this they cannot be judges of the question, because they scarcely know what courses of lectures, in the sense here intended, are. They hear the prelections of Smyth, Farish, Buckland, and a few other professors eminent for abilities and information, and they justly admire the eloquence, ingenuity, and taste of the lecturer, at the same time receiving perhaps all the instruction and improvement, which addresses delivered in such circumstances can bestow. But they are strangers to the sight of large, commodious, and crowded halls, where hundreds of students assemble for many months together to hear lectures, which, in connection with daily exercises and examinations, form the great staple of academical instruction.

There is something in this sight, which tends of itself to expand the feelings, and to enlarge the intellect, of every beholder. The lecturer, in proportion to the number of his hearers, naturally assumes more dig-

nity of manner, and delivers himself in a more impressive, energetic, and animated strain. The students find their sympathy and attention continually awakened by a scene, which is always enlivening and delightful: a powerful call to exertion, a call addressed to their love of distinction and honourable ambition for applause, is presented in the earnest countenances of their companions, in every one of whom, no less than in the professor himself, they see a judge and witness of their merit: and, by the publicity of their academical performances, they are in some degree prepared for the next period of their lives, when they will perhaps become responsible for more manly duties performed in the view of their country or of the world.

As to the plea, that it is enough to refer the student to the best books on every subject, who knows not how much greater is the effect produced upon him by the speech and presence of a distinguished individual than by merely reading an account of what he said and thought? Who is there that enters with the same vivid interest into the study of English history or mental philosophy by perusing the volumes of Millar and Stewart, as he would if he had been present at the original delivery of the same matter in the form of lectures? Is it not universally considered among the highest commendations of a literary composition, that the reader almost fancies that he sees the author before him, and hears his very words? Suppose Porson and Watson had employed their industry, and directed all the force of their penetra-

ting and vigorous intellects to the delivery of public lectures at Cambridge similar to those, which are given every winter by the Professors of Greek and Divinity at Glasgow: who can doubt, that they would have been as numerously attended, or indeed that they would have given a new impulse to the University, and filled England with their fame? Every man of taste and genius will, in delivering a course of lectures, throw a halo of light round every subject upon which he treats, and will render it infinitely more captivating than it can be in books. The rendering a subject intelligible to those, to whom it is new, often requires a more lengthened discussion, a greater variety of familiar illustrations, and perhaps a more free and conversational style, than are found in books, or would be approved in them. The best method, which a teacher can adopt, in order to become himself perfect master of his subject, is to write a Course of Lectures. Whatever may be the department of art, literature, or science, which he professes, let him prepare by reading, conversing, and writing, to deliver oral instructions upon it to a class of pupils; and he will infallibly perceive, that, in endeavouring to render it intelligible to them, new lights break upon his own mind, his ideas become more distinct, and fall into a fresh arrangement, and he feels an attachment to the subject, and an interest in every branch of it, which he never felt before. He will experience the truth of Lord Bacon's well-known remark, "Reading maketh a full man; conference a ready man; *and writing an exact man.*" The maxim, therefore, which

Quinctilian lays down for the direction of the pupil will be applied by the faithful and judicious teacher to himself also; "*Scribendum quam dilligentissimè et quamplurimum.*"

If these remarks be applicable to lectures upon theological or metaphysical, literary or critical topics, the argument has tenfold weight in reference to every department of physics and natural history. How can books teach the appearance and structure of the various parts of the animal body? description show the sensations produced by the Leyden jar and the Voltaic pile? or engravings exhibit the decomposition of neutral salts and of the alkalies? All that they can do is to give a faint and imperfect conception, and in many cases they will give an erroneous conception, of those appearances, which every student at a university should be enabled to see and hear and feel. Books are beyond question necessary to him: and the professor ought to direct his attention to them according to their various merits and importance. But their chief use will be to prepare him to enter into the discussions, and to draw just inferences from the experiments, which he is to witness in the lecture-room; and afterwards to revive the impression of all that he has seen and heard, and to assist him in referring every particular to its proper place in the arrangement of each branch of knowledge.

The course recommended in the preceding pages, being much more physical than metaphysical, requires that experiments, drawings, and other sensible illustrations, should usually accompany oral instruction. The professor who is diligent and liberal, and who

will in the end find his exertions amply rewarded, will continually keep in view the maxim of Horace,

> Segniùs irritant animos demissa per aurem,
> Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.

The application of this principle constitutes, in a great measure, the superiority of the modern to the ancient philosophy. For that superiority depends upon the substitution of experiment in place of speculation, and upon the examination of individual cases previously to the adoption of general conclusions. A sincere and enlightened lover of truth, by whom the principle, while yet struggling against prejudice, was ably vindicated, unfolded, and promoted, has stated it in these terms: "The philosophy, that must signify either for light or use, must not be the work of the mind turned in upon itself, and only conversing with its own ideas; but it must be raised *from the observations and applications of sense*, and take its accounts from things *as they are in the sensible world*."*

* Plus Ultra, or the Advancement of Knowledge since the Days of Aristotle, by Jos. Glanvill, 1668, p. 52.

The following extract states well the advantages of the *real*, as opposed to the *ideal* philosophy, in improving the dispositions and the understanding:

"The free and *real* philosophy makes men deeply sensible of the infirmities of human intellect, and our manifold hazards of mistaking, and so renders them wary and modest, diffident of the certainty of their conceptions, and averse to the boldness of peremptory asserting: so that the philosopher thinks much, and examines many things, separates the certainties from the plausibilities; that which is *presumed* from that which is *proved*; the

It must be distinctly observed, that long and complete courses of lectures, delivered in the clearest and most impressive manner, and accompanied by every eligible variety of illustrations, will not accomplish the ends of academical instruction, unless the students are continually brought forward to take an active part in the business before them. "Should we not laugh at the musician, who should propose to teach the harp by giving a lecture daily during the winter months, without once making his pupils touch the strings of the instrument? But the attempt to teach a class of young men to think and reason, and more particularly to form in their minds the intellectual habits, upon which reasoning, speaking, and writing

images of sense, fancy, and education, from the results of genuine and impartial reason. Thus he doth, before he assents or denies; and *then* he takes with him also a sense of his own fallibility and defects, and never concludes but upon resolution to alter his mind upon contrary evidence. Thus he conceives warily, and he *speaks* with as much caution and reserve in the humble forms of *So I think*, and *In my opinion*, and *Perhaps 'tis so*, with great deference to opposite persuasion, candour to dissenters, and calmness in contradictions, with readiness and desire to learn, and great delight in the discoveries of truth and detections of his own mistakes. When he argues, he gives his reasons without passion, and shines without flaming, discourses without wrangling, and differs without dividing. He catcheth not at the *infirmities* of his opposite, but lays hold of his *strength*, and weighs the substance without blowing the dust in his eyes. He entertains what he finds reasonable, and suspends his judgment when he doth not clearly understand. This is the spirit, with which men are inspired by the philosophy I recommend. It makes them so just as to allow that liberty of judgment to *others* which *themselves* desire, and so prevents all imperious dictates and imposings, all captious quarrels and notional wars." See p. 146—148; and Glanvill's Essays, A. D. 1676, No. 4, p. 26.

depend, by means of lectures only, is just as absurd and ridiculous." *

The object in view may be partly attained, especially when the number of pupils is small, by means of conversation. Mr. Craig, after an instructive and interesting account of the mode of lecturing adopted during forty years at Glasgow by Professor Millar, and of the advantages of his extemporaneous method of address, informs us, that this eminent teacher "encouraged such of the students as had not fully comprehended his doctrines, or conceived that there was some error in his reasonings, to state to him their difficulties and objections;" and that "at the conclusion of the lecture, a little circle of his most attentive pupils was formed around him, when the doctrines, which he had been delivering, were canvassed with the most perfect freedom." This practice was productive of the most import benefits both to the Professor and to his hearers.†

* Jardine's Outlines of Philosophical Education, p. 400.

The reader may be gratified by comparing the above quotation with the following passage from an *ancient* master in the same art:

"As painters and statuaries are not contented with a bare description of lines and colours, but recommend an ocular inspection, whilst they are occupied in their respective arts; and, as the gymnastic teacher wishes to associate the experiment of his own practice with his precepts to the pupil: so, in admonitions on literary topics, a superior utility results from an actual performance of the monitor." Essays of Dio Chrysostom, translated by G. Wakefield, p. 93.

† See Life of Millar, prefixed to "the Origin of Ranks," 4th ed. p. xiv.—xvii. The reader has probably not forgotten Mr. Campbell's account of Millar's mode of lecturing in the New Monthly Mag. for Ap. 1825, p. 418, 419.

Of the use of free conversation in aid of professorial talent, we have admirable specimens in the accounts furnished by the late Mr. Simpson of Bath,* of the Lectures of Dr. Aikin and Dr. Priestley, under whom he studied at Warrington.

"Dr. Aikin used some printed text-book for most of his lectures; for others he had written analyses or hints of his own. Upon all of these he enlarged much in his discourse, with great fluency, propriety, and impression. His modes of illustration were uncommonly distinct and various, and pointedly adapted to the different talents of his pupils. He was always interesting, and frequently animated. He stated the arguments on both sides of any disputed point with great clearness and precision. After this, his custom was to stop, and say, "Gentlemen, have I explained the subject to your satisfaction?" or some equivalent expression. Any one, who did not fully comprehend him, was asked to state his difficulty. He then, in order to illustrate further, proceeded upon a quite different mode of explanation, which he would vary again, if requested by any present. In any disputed point of metaphysics, morals, or theology, he avoided any dictatorial declaration of his own opinion, and freely encouraged his pupils to form their own. When any student embraced a sentiment different from what he imagined to be his tutor's, he without any scruple mentioned it, together with his reasons for it. A difference of opinion in the pupil produced no diminution of regard in the tutor, or of attention to his instructions."

* Author of the "Internal and Presumptive Evidences of Christianity," and of other valuable works.

The account of Dr. Priestley's method of teaching is as follows:

"At the conclusion of his lecture, he always encouraged the students to express their sentiments relative to the subjects of it, and to urge any objections to what he had delivered, without reserve. It pleased him when any one commenced such a conversation. In order to excite the freest discussion, he occasionally invited the students to drink tea with him, in order to canvass the subjects of his lectures. I do not recollect that he ever showed the least displeasure at the strongest objections that were made to what he delivered; but I distinctly remember the smile of approbation with which he usually received them; nor did he fail to point out, in a very encouraging manner, the ingenuity or force of any remarks that were made, when they merited these characters. His object, as well as Dr. Aikin's, was to engage the students to examine and decide for themselves, uninfluenced by the sentiments of any other person. His written lectures he used to permit each student to take and read in his own lodgings." *

To this charming picture of a lecturer, intent upon usefulness, may be added his own directions, as given in his excellent "Essay on a Course of Liberal Education for Civil and Active Life." †

* Account of Warrington Academy, by the Rev. W. Turner, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in the Monthly Repository, vol. viii. p. 166, &c.

† First published in 1764; prefixed to "Lectures on History," 1788.

"Let the lecturer have a pretty full text before him, digested with care, containing not only a method of discoursing upon the subjects; but also all the principal *arguments* he adduces, and all the leading *facts* he makes use of to support his hypotheses. Let this text be the subject of a regular, but familiar discourse, not exceeding an hour at a time, with a class not exceeding twenty or thirty. Let the lecturer give his pupils all encouragement to enter occasionally into the conversation by proposing queries, or making any objections, or remarks, that may occur to them. Let all the students have an opportunity of perusing this text, if not of copying it, in the intervals between the lectures, and let near half of the time for lecturing be spent in receiving from the students a minute account of the particulars of the preceding lecture, and in explaining any difficulties they may have met with in it; in order that no subject be quitted, till the tutor be morally certain, that his pupils thoroughly understand it.

"Upon every subject of importance, let the tutor make references to the principal authors who have treated of it, and, if the subject be a controverted one, let him refer to books written on both sides of the question. Of these references let the tutor occasionally require an account, and sometimes a written abstract. Lastly, let the tutor select a proper number of the most important questions, that can arise from the subject of the lectures, and let them be proposed to the students as exercises, to be treated in the form of orations, theses, or dissertations, as he shall think fit."

Conversation is, however, better adapted to be employed for the instruction of youth by a tutor in a college, than by a professor in a university. Where the class exceeds the number of a private party, it becomes necessary to adopt a more formal and systematic method; and the best way of showing how this may be done, will be to state the following particulars of what is done constantly in the University of Glasgow.

At an early hour every day in the week except Saturday and Sunday, the professor meets his class. As soon as he has taken his seat, *the censor* (one of the class, appointed every week by rotation) calls over the catalogue. It is thus ascertained whether any one is absent. After a short prayer, the professor delivers his lecture, which fills up the hour. Besides the *public students*, whose names are inserted in alphabetical order in the catalogue, the lecture is attended by others, called *private students*, who enter no further into the business of the class, and who are not, as such, subject to the discipline of the University, nor entitled to its honours. After a suitable interval, the professor meets his class again; the catalogue is called over; an account is required of absentees; as many as can be called upon before the expiration of the hour, are examined by the professor upon what they have heard from him; and themes and exercises of various kinds are prescribed, read, and criticised. Thus, in conformity with the statutes and long established usage of the University, a second hour is employed, during which every student is more or less on the alert to gain credit with the professor and his fellow students, by showing that he has paid proper

attention to the lectures, and to all the business of his class. The public students also meet early on the Saturday morning, when their exercises are in some degree varied from the usual course. The manner of conducting one of the most useful classes is detailed by George Jardine, Esq., who has filled the chair of logic and rhetoric with the highest reputation during half a century, in his late work, entitled "Outlines of Philosophical Education." This University numbers among its pupils no inconsiderable portion of the best informed people of Scotland, Ireland, and England; and its active and accomplished superintendants have recently extended the system of exercises and examinations, to a certain degree, from the younger classes to those of Hebrew, Divinity, Law, and Chemistry. A new university may learn much from their experience, and even improve upon the system, which they have pursued with such distinguished success. Where the mathematical and physical sciences enter more largely into the scheme of instruction, it may be found useful, besides the various exercises in written composition and the verbal examinations, to require the students to take a part in repeating chemical and philosophical experiments, in dissecting and describing plants or other objects of natural history, and in drawing, both at their own apartments and in the class-room, diagrams, maps, plans of buildings, and sections of apparatus and machinery. Every task of this kind may be beneficial, not only as an exercise of their various faculties and talents, but also by giving them a lively personal interest in the business of the classes, in which they have been enrolled, and

by qualifying them in after life both for the researches of abstract speculation, and for the practical details of business. Another important modification of the Glasgow system seems to be this: although one hour in each day is sufficient for the *lecture*, which may be heard as conveniently by five hundred persons, as by five; two or three hours, or even more, may be requisite to be devoted by the professor to the *discipline* of his class, either collectively, or in sections constituted according to their ages and attainments. As a general rule, not more than 60 students should meet at the same hour for exercises and examinations. Also, the professors of Greek and Roman literature should be expected no less than the professors of philosophy, to pay attention both to the formation of a good English style by their pupils, and to their improvement in speaking. Opportunities of promoting these objects will present themselves in abundance during the course of their prelections on the historians, poets, and philosophers of antiquity.

The length of the session, and the studies proposed for its later months, will admit of the further adoption of active and varied methods of improvement by means of excursions into the country, or upon the water. "Besides these constant exercises," (for we may apply to *our* institution what Milton says of his,) "there is another opportunity of gaining experience to be won from pleasure itself abroad; in those vernal seasons of the year, when the air is calm and pleasant, it were an injury and sullenness against nature not to go out, and see her riches, and partake in her rejoicing with heaven and earth." These excursions

should be made in the company of "prudent and staid guides," who may assist their pupils in learning by *observation* and *actual inspection.* They may thus act upon the principle suggested in the following words by Dr. Knox: "It is the general fault of scholars to read books too much, and nature too little. By the one we can only keep possession of the truths discovered by our predecessors; by the other we are continually making new acquisitions, and by our knowledge extending the empire of man over nature." *

SECT. VIII.—*Prizes and Degrees. External Lecturers. Medical and Legal Education.*

The institution of *prizes*, with other means of exciting emulation, has continued of late years to gain ground in almost every system of education. The practice has long prevailed at Glasgow, and is now carried to a greater extent than ever. Oxford and Cambridge have more recently adopted the same system, employing it principally at the time of the examination for the degree of B. A.† In the Uni-

* Liberal Eucation, 11th edit. vol. ii. p. 133.

† The introduction of public annual examinations, with honorary rewards for such as distinguished themselves, was warmly agitated at Cambridge rather more than 50 years since. It was opposed by Farmer, Halifax, and Powell, and supported by Law, Paley, Watson, Tyrwhitt, Plumptre, and most actively and strenuously by John Jebb, who had witnessed its good effects in Trinity College, Dublin, and whose proposals, with his arguments

versity of Valencia, all the students are publicly examined at the end of the session in June, when prizes of books and money are awarded to those, who are found to have derived the greatest benefit from the lectures, which they have been attending.* A similar plan is pursued in the Catholic Colleges in this country, in the East India Colleges at Haileybury and Croydon, and in Manchester College at York.

The employment of prizes as a motive to exertion may certainly be carried too far. Young persons of every age, and above all, those who are old enough to attend a university, should be taught to regard principally and almost solely the substantial and permanent rewards of academical merit, for which alone they devote their best years to study, and which the attentive and industrious will inevitably find in the improvement of their various faculties, in their increasing stock of knowledge, in the refinement of their taste, and their access to new and elevated pleasures, in their opening prospects of usefulness and fame, and in the admiration and applause, the esteem and the affection, of their teachers and class-fellows, their relations and their friends. Nevertheless it appears unquestionably proper, that a judgment should be formed, and a decision pronounced, respecting the use they have made of their opportunities of improvement. With this view it appears desirable, that the most deserving students in the public classes of philosophy and languages should be arranged

in favour of employing the principle of *emulation*, may be seen in the 2d and 3d volumes of his *Works*.

* See Townsend's Travels in Spain.

according to a scale of merit, each class, or section of a class, voting for the election of its worthiest members. That the *professor* should be allowed to vote, or at least that he should have a casting vote, is evidently proper. But, to omit general reasonings, the ample experience of the Faculty of Arts at Glasgow clearly proves, that the *students* ought to be entitled to vote in a body upon the conduct of their classfellows, of which they have been daily spectators and witnesses through the session.*

Any prize or special reward, which can be given to a successful candidate, will be of little estimation compared with the value, which he attaches to the place assigned him in the list of honour. But some badge of distinction, such as a medal, a book, or a philosophical instrument, some pleasing and cherished memorial of the scenes and employments of his purest, happiest, and most ardent days, may be properly bestowed on him by the university, through the hands of his instructor. Perhaps, also, rewards of higher intrinsic value, which will be acceptable to students of limited resources, and will enable them to pursue their career with more credit and comfort, such as exhibitions, scholarships, or the use of apartments in the buildings of the university, may be offered to the prize-men according to the rank, which they have attained. The adoption of such plans as these will be a most powerful engine in the hands of the professors, for promoting the good conduct and improvement of their pupils.

* See Jardine's Outlines, p. 385—393.

There remains a yet higher rank of honours, not merely acknowledged in the class-room or the university, but recognized by the country and by the world. These are *degrees*, which are conferred at certain stages of the academical course in every university, as authorized testimonials of attendance upon certain teachers and of some proficiency in collegiate attainments. Perhaps a new university, (even if it were entitled to *the name*,) could not succeed, certainly its success would be greatly impeded and abridged, without the privilege of conferring degrees: and it is therefore to be hoped, that that privilege, upon proper conditions, would not be withheld by the FOUNTAIN of HONOUR. If the degree of B. A. were given after three sessions passed at the university, and that of M. A. after four, the time required would be as much as is now demanded either in the British dominions, or perhaps in any other part of Europe. But a question here arises, which must be determined, before the ground of the student's claim to these honours can be settled.

A certain course of study in philosophy and literature, supposed to occupy four sessions, has been marked out as being calculated to furnish all the advantages of a comprehensive and liberal education. Supposing this plan, or indeed any other, to be adopted as the best that can be devised, we may expect that the students will, in general, comply with it of their own accord, and for the sake of their own manifest advantage. But, if they are *obliged* to walk in this one track, many evils and inconveniences

will ensue. Who is to control the professors, and to preserve them from relaxing in their industry, their affection, and their zeal? Finding themselves securely fixed in lucrative and honourable situations, and knowing that the students must attend them in order to obtain degrees, or to pass on to superior classes, they may be disposed sooner or later to become negligent and careless. To prevent these lamentable consequences, the same principle must be permitted to operate upon them as upon their pupils. They must be exposed to *competition*. Instead, therefore, of being compelled to attend on any one professor, the students should be allowed to choose their teachers. They cannot indeed be considered as *students in the university*, without a punctual attendance upon one of the *professors in the university*: nor ought the university to confer degrees upon those, who have not studied during the specified time under its own authority, and according to its own provisions. But an establishment has been suggested of not fewer than six professors. The department of each of them is so important and extensive, that, without deviating from his proper subjects, he may vary his course from year to year, so as to invite young men to attend it more than once. Cases will often occur of individuals, whose previous attainments, and whose prospects and intentions in future life may make it desirable for them to deviate in some respects from the prescribed course. Such students should be at liberty to pay more or less attention, according to their peculiar circumstances, either to

pure or to mixed mathematics, to mechanics or to chemistry, to physical or to metaphysical subjects, to philosophy or to literature.

It is also to be expected and to be hoped, that ample opportunities of the best instruction will be afforded by the exertions of teachers, who are not professors in the university. At Oxford and Cambridge such attempts would be suppressed. At Edinburgh and Glasgow, although the charter of the former University,* if not of the latter, confers the power of suppressing them, it is never exercised; hence men of the most distinguished abilities open class-rooms apart from the university, and not very rarely surpass the professors in celebrity, as they would likewise in the number of their hearers, if attendance upon their lectures were reckoned in taking degrees. It was in a great measure by this wise and liberal policy, that Edinburgh became the first medical school in the world. If, at the time of the revival of learning, the universities of Italy had manifested the exclusive spirit, which shows itself in our days and in our country, nearly all the knowledge and the taste, which Oxford and Cambridge have to bestow, would probably have been lost to them, to Europe, and to the human race. But, when Manuel Chrysoloras, and other distinguished Greeks, were compelled by the increasing power of the Turks to quit their native country, "fixing their residence in the Italian universities, they were hailed as the dispensers of science and the oracles of wisdom. Their lectures

* Maitland's History of Edinburgh, p. 357—363.

were assiduously attended, and their instructions were imbibed with all the ardour of enthusiasm."* This generous reception of the learned refugees is justly considered as the circumstance, which has preserved to us the precious literature and language of their incomparable ancestors. In England, the resort of external lecturers to the neighbourhood of a national university will add to its usefulness and lustre, as a seat of learning; and they will thus, in some measure, repay the advantages, which they derive from its establishment, by promoting the great objects, for which it was instituted, by attracting an additional number of students, and perhaps by increasing the emoluments of the privileged professors.†

Such, besides private study, will be the opportunities, which young men may enjoy of rising to eminence in the various branches of academical education, without being compelled to pursue the exact routine of the university. If they be allowed to avail themselves freely of these opportunities, the professors will all exert themselves to excel in their several departments, from the certainty, that if they become indifferent, their lecture-rooms will be deserted.

The grounds of this latitude of choice being explained, let us suppose a man to come forward for the purpose of taking his degree. Having been a student in the university during three sessions;

* Shepherd's Life of Poggio, p. 6.

† The importance of the services of *private lecturers* is well represented by an author, who has clearly and elegantly stated the uses of public institutions for academical education, and the principles on which they ought to be conducted.—See Elements of Political Science, by J. Craig, Esq. vol. ii. p. 351—353.

having attended, during each of those sessions, some one of the professors of languages or philosophy; being proved, by the reports of the censors, or some other certificate, to have been present regularly both at the lectures and at the hours of exercise; and being allowed by the professors to have conducted himself in their classes with diligence and propriety, he submits to a public examination upon all the subjects of the three first sessions, according to the prescribed arrangement of the university. He is expected to show a competent knowledge of Greek and Roman literature, of mathematics, chemistry, natural and experimental philosophy, and natural history. The examination is conducted by the professors, who are to confer the degree, and who consequently ought to be satisfied of the just claims of the candidate: but all members of the university are entitled to be present, and to take a part in the examination, so as to secure the greatest possible fairness in the proceeding. This is the only process, which appears requisite previously to taking the degree of *Bachelor of Arts*. In like manner a Bachelor of Arts, after proofs have been exhibited that he has passed a fourth session as a public student, in a regular attendance upon any one professor, submits to a public examination on the subjects taught in the fourth philosophical, or metaphysical class; and, having satisfied the professors of his proficiency in the knowledge of those subjects, is entitled to the degree of *Master of Arts*.

Nothing has yet been said in the course of these pages upon the provision, which may be made in a new university for instruction in *medicine* and in

law. A few words may here be introduced on these important topics, in connection with the subject of degrees. A man, who confines himself to the means, which England at present furnishes of qualifying himself to practise in the medical and legal professions, studies in London, and graduates at Oxford or Cambridge. Reason and justice seem to demand that, if London supplies the knowledge necessary to any employment, it ought also to confer the testimonials of that knowledge, and the power to use it. But a further question may be asked; Why is professional instruction to be confined to London? Why are thousands of young men, designed for the practice of medicine, surgery, and law, to be compelled to leave their homes and the vicinity of their natural connections, to travel to London from the remotest parts of the North and of the West of England, to incur numerous expences which they can ill support, and to endanger their health and their morals in pursuit of knowledge, which might be as well supplied to them in their own neighbourhood? It will be answered, that medical students resort to London on account of the unequalled advantages, which are presented in attendance on the hospitals. To this we reply, that unless London and its vicinity be far more unhealthy, more fertile in diseases, than any other part of England, the same number and variety of cases may be expected to present themselves in the hospitals of any district which is equally populous. Now a circle of forty miles' radius described round London, includes a less population than the same circle described round Manchester. If, therefore, the

hospitals in the latter circle be equally frequented by patients, but much less by students, why should not the medical profession derive greater advantage from the circumstance? This general statement must be modified by observing, that there is in London a far greater concentration of professional talent than in any other part of England; that there the hospitals are within a few miles of one another; that their ample endowments provide for a far greater number of patients than can be received into establishments supported by annual or occasional contributions; and that the number admitted into them perhaps exceeds the number in all the hospitals and infirmaries dispersed through the above-mentioned circle, which surrounds Manchester.* Nevertheless every young man, who goes to London in order to prosecute his medical education, finds that his expences are heavy in proportion as his opportunities of observation are inadequate. At the same time they, who are more anxious for his welfare even than he is himself, dread his exposure to evils far greater than those which arise from a disproportion between the number of pupils and the means of instruction. There is, therefore, a manifest necessity, that at least one school of medicine should be opened in some other part of England; and, since the experience of those, who are the most concerned in the management of hospitals, leads them

* The London Hospitals are seven in number; St. Bartholomew's contains 500 beds; St. Thomas's, 460; Guy's, 400; the London Hospital, Whitechapel Road, about 180; the Westminster Hospital, about 100; St. George's, about 200; the Middlesex Hospital, about 200.—See *The Lancet*, No. 108, vol. ix.

to the conclusion, that these expensive establishments are principally useful to the public by supplying facilities for the attainment of professional knowledge, it is probable, that they will be conducted upon a larger scale than at present in any place out of London, where a good medical school shall be instituted. By the Act of the 55 Geo. III. c. 194, no person is permitted to practise as an apothecary in any part of England or Wales, unless he has received from the Court of Examiners of the Apothecaries' Company in London, a certificate testifying, that he is duly qualified. Surgeons are subject to a similar law, no one being allowed to practise, until he has received a Diploma from the London College of Surgeons. These statutes have been enacted with a view to secure the health and safety of the public; and in pursuance of the same object, the College of Surgeons recognises only five medical schools, viz. those of London, Dublin, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen. If England shall ever contain a university affording the same advantages for the attainment of professional skill and experience, with the four Scotch and Irish universities included in this enumeration, there can be no doubt, that its pupils will partake of the same privileges which the statutes and regulations referred to extend to all deserving candidates. Such a university ought to supply the best instruction to the highest branch of the medical profession. This being the case, it should be empowered to confer degrees in medicine as well as in arts: and perhaps the rule might be, that the professors should confer the degree of Doctor of Medicine upon any Master of

Arts, either of their own, or of any other university, who had afforded sufficient proofs, by means of testimonials and public examinations, of his just title to that distinction.*

In the profession of the law, many advantages are enjoyed by graduates of Oxford and Cambridge, from which all others are excluded. The liberal character of the English Bar forbids us to suppose, that this distinction is made for any other reason, but because Oxford and Cambridge have hitherto been the only English seminaries authorized to confer the recognized testimonials of an academical education; and hence it may be confidently anticipated, that the graduates of any new English university will be entitled to the same privileges. By a recent

* Respecting the period of study which may be required before conferring the degree of Doctor of Medicine, see "Observations on a Tour in Scotland, by Thomas Newte, Esq." 1791, 4to. p. 351—359. The acute and accomplished author of these Observations was William Thomson, LL.D. the continuator of Watson's Life of Philip III. He here asserts, that at Edinburgh candidates were examined on literature and philosophy by the Dean and Faculty of Arts, before they could apply for a degree in Physic. The Edinburgh professors have been by no means strict in enforcing this rule. It had, however, the countenance of the late celebrated Professor of the Theory of Medicine, Dr. James Gregory, who, in the dedication to his *Conspectus Med. Theoreticæ*, strongly enforces upon his pupils the study of the Latin language, and represents the dignity of his own office, as their instructor and as a professor of the healing art, by saying, "Sum is scilicet, qui non mulierculis, aut circumforaneis medicis, artem nullis principiis nitentem nullaque doctrina aut scientia ornatam impertiar, sed artem liberalem, cui et favet et necessaria est doctrina haud exigua, juventutem ingenuam doceam, jam literis humanioribus probe eruditam et plurima scientia imbutam."

Act of Parliament no one can practise as an attorney in England or Wales, unless he has previously passed five years in an attorney's office: but an exception is made in favour of the graduates of Oxford and Cambridge, who are allowed to enjoy the same benefits after having been articled only three years. Thus the inestimable advantages of academical education are in a great measure confined, in this branch of the profession of the law, to members of the Church of England. But, when it is considered, that the aim of every new enactment since the revolution has been to extend, rather than to abridge, religious toleration, it is not too much to hope, that the same reasonable indulgence will be extended to the graduates of a university open to all sects without exception.

The remarks, which were offered upon the necessity, now imposed upon medical students, of resorting to London, are for the most part applicable to the legal profession also. It is acknowledged, that, of all the circuits, the northern presents the greatest quantity of business and the greatest display of talent; and next to this the western. The local advantages therefore of the North and of the West of England are manifest with a view to the attainment of knowledge and experience in law, no less than in surgery and medicine. The establishment of a university in either of these districts, or indeed in London itself, may facilitate the study of the law, and add to the respectability of its practitioners, by affording those means of instruction, which in every country, except England, are regarded as indispensable. The universities at Bologna, and many other places on the

Continent, were during many ages after their first establishment principally devoted to the advancement of legal studies by public lectures. At Edinburgh the Faculty of Law consists of no fewer than four professors, who lecture daily through the session in their several departments, all advocates and writers to the signet being required to produce testimonials of attendance upon them.* England is, perhaps, the only civilized country, where a legal education consists almost entirely in private reading, and in the laborious details of the attorney's or the pleader's office. The enlightened practitioners of every rank, in our various courts, will doubtless hail

* The mode of conducting the Law Class at Glasgow is detailed in Craig's Life of Millar, before referred to. That English law may be taught with incalculable advantage by similar methods, will be evident to every one who endeavours to comprehend the many important results, which have ensued from the resolution adopted by a fellow of All-Souls' College in 1753, to introduce the delivery of Lectures upon Law at Oxford. This plan, which at its commencement was opposed by some as an "innovation," (see the Preface to Blackstone's Commentaries,) produced the work, which since its publication has formed the ground-work of all legal study in England. The remarks of the writer of the Life of Blackstone in the General Biography appear deserving of citation, in reference both to this particular subject, and to the general question of English academical education. "It is," says he, "a singular circumstance, and may be of some use in enabling us to appreciate the merit of our academical establishments, that in the long succession of public teachers and professors, during a period of several centuries, the Commentaries of Blackstone, and the Hebrew Prelections of Lowth, are the only series of lectures in either university, which have any prospect of descending to posterity, or of acquiring a permanent place in the literature of their country."

with delight the birth of a university, designed not only to adorn and enrich the minds of their successors with all that variety of knowledge, which Cicero deemed requisite to an accomplished advocate,* but

* "Meâ quidem sententiâ nemo poterit esse omni laude cumulatus orator, nisi erit omnium rerum magnarum atque artium scientiam consecutus. Etenim ex rerum cognitione efflorescat et redundet oportet oratio: quæ nisi subest, res ab oratore percepta et cognita inanem quandam habet elocutionem et pæne puerilem." De Oratore, lib. i. c. 6.

The contrast of this grand portrait is exhibited in the following account of the education for the English Bar:

"With respect to the modes of preparation for this profession, I see, with regret, that an illiberal method prevails, which consists in confining the future advocate, like a clerk in a merchant's counting-house, to the desk of some practising lawyer, and teaching him the ordinary business almost mechanically. There he sits, and copies a great number of dry formalities, such as, if he attended to them, could not enlarge his mind; such indeed as, without a remarkable dulness of disposition, he cannot attend to. After labouring for several years in a manual employment, as sedentary, and scarcely more liberal than that of the weaver or the watchmaker, he comes forth a formidable barrister. —The true method of arriving at an eligible species of eminence in the study of the law is to enlarge the capacity of the mind by a most comprehensive and classical education; and then to furnish it with some portion of every species of human knowledge." Knox's Essays, No. 112.

The following remarks of Mr. Nicholls are to the same effect, and may be received as the result of very extensive observation:

"By the old mode of education, the lawyer first acquired science, and afterwards immersed himself in practice. By the modern mode, he begins with that knowledge which is acquired by practice, and he must emerge to science, if he ever acquires it. Lawyers, formed according to the modern mode, will, perhaps, have more dexterity in the application of their knowledge, than lawyers formed according to the old mode: perhaps they may be

also to provide complete courses of lectures, with exercises and examinations, upon the theory and practice of their own profession.

With respect to degrees in law, they are in most cases merely complimentary. But, as far as they are necessary to admission to the practice of the Ecclesiastical and Admiralty courts, it is desirable that the professors of a new university should be enabled to confer them upon candidates proved to be entitled,

even more useful advocates for private clients: but it is to be feared, that they will be deficient on great constitutional questions." Recollections of the reign of George III. by John Nicholls, Esq. vol. i. p. 341.

It is not, perhaps, generally known, that the science of the law was formerly taught in London by courses of lectures. Sir George Buc, in his "Third Universitie of England," (dedicated to Sir Edward Coke, and dated 1612,) when he is describing the opportunities of study in the four Inns for teaching the Common Law, says that students, after having been called to the bar, "were allowed to read lectures on law publicly in the halls, which they performed with much magnificence and solemnity, and were thenceforth called Readers."

The propriety of applying a regular system of professional instruction to the advancement of both medical and legal studies is well represented in Jardine's *Outlines*, p. 462—466, 2d edit. "With regard to law," says he, "there appears to be so little system in the manner of studying it, that it would be extremely difficult either to point out strictures, or to suggest improvements. In some places the professors are not attended at all; and the student is only required to furnish satisfactory evidence, that he has eaten a certain number of dinners at the inns of court, but no evidence is required, that he ever attended the courts of business even for one day. It is difficult to conceive in what manner learned and sensible men should have adopted a plan of education, in which there are neither teachers nor scholars."

to them by proper testimonials and public examinations.*

Sect. IX.— *Government of the University.*

A question of fundamental importance now presents itself, viz. Where shall the supreme controlling power of the university be vested? By whom shall its funds be administered? By whom ought its professors and other officers to be appointed, and who shall have the right of a general superintendance over its concerns?

In these respects the different universities of Europe and America pursue the most various plans, but none has been hitherto adopted, which appears eligible for this country. As the petty sovereigns of

* The ground, on which universities confer degrees, is thus stated in the charter of the University of Gottingen.

"Porro, cum ipsa studia eo feliciori gradu procedant et majus sumant incrementum, si præclaris ingeniis et disciplinis ipsis suus honos et dignitatis gradus statuatur, atque emeriti aliquando digna laborum suorum præmia consequantur, statuimus et ordinamus, &c.

See the charter as published by *Christoph. Aug. Heumannus*, at the end of his edition of the *Antiquitates Academicæ of Conringius, Gottingæ*, 1739, 4*to*. This curious work contains also (at p. 377—385) the charter of Maximilian II. for erecting the University of Helmstadt. It is dated May 9, 1575, and confers upon that body all the usual powers and privileges of preceding universities.

The essentially important question respecting the *authority*, by which universities may be established, and empowered to confer degrees, is learnedly discussed, and appears to be justly decided by *Itterus*, in the 5th and 6th chapters of his *Diatriba de Gradibus Academicis, Giessæ*, 1679.

the German States, and likewise the kings of Prussia, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden, in general found and support the universities, they of course appoint the professors, and have a supreme and entire control over their own establishments. In France, education in all its ramifications is in the hands of the government; and since this has been the case, almost every kind of academical learning appears to have declined in that country. The remarks of Mr. Dawson Turner, in his account of the present state of the old University of Caen, apply to all the French establishments of the same class. "The professors receive their salaries wholly from the government; their emoluments continue the same, whether the students crowd to hear their courses, or whether they lecture to empty benches. It is strictly forbidden to a student to attempt to make any remuneration to a professor, or even to offer him a present of any kind. The whole of the dues paid by the scholars go to the state; and the state in its turn defrays the expences of the establishment." *

In North America the universities are in some measure under the control of the local governments: but, where the power of every description of functionaries originates in the great body of the people, and where the universities are professedly the creation and the care of the state, this interference does not ap-

* Letters from Normandy, 1820, vol. ii. p. 211—213. In like manner all the Italian universities are now under state control. The students do not pay fees to the professors, the latter being paid entirely by the government. Russia has six universities, all managed entirely according to the directions of the emperor and his ministers.

pear objectionable. With English habits and ideas a university will be more likely to succeed the less the members of the government, as such, and not upon the ground of services and performances, which may be equally shared by others, interfere in the direction of its concerns. If professorships are established and endowed by the crown, the right of filling them may of course be vested in the crown, just as the patronage of any other professorship may remain always with the representative of its original founder. In like manner, official persons, either in church or state, who render important services of any kind to the university, ought to be entitled to partake in its management on the same conditions with unofficial persons, who render similar services.

In Great Britain, academical education has happily not been made the business of the government. Hence our universities, with comparatively rare exceptions, manage and control themselves. At Glasgow, for example, the members of the faculty have the entire management of the university, being only subject to a royal visitation,* and restricted from appointing to professorships of royal foundation. But, where the professors fill up their own vacancies, there is a danger of the prevalence of interested motives in the choice; at all events, they will not escape the suspicion of them in the view of the public. By the charter of the University of Edinburgh, the provost, bailiffs, and town council, are authorized to elect the professors, and to place and remove them as they

* The last visitation was in 1727, and was attended by many important reformations. See Jardine's Outlines, p. 18.

judge expedient.* Without the knowledge of this fact, philosophers at a distance would be at a loss to account for the alarm felt by that learned body, and recorded by one of the most celebrated among them, on hearing the opinion of a *tailor* relative to the dispute about the election of Mr. Leslie to the office of Mathematical Professor.† But the fact is, that tailors, grocers, and other tradesmen in the city, choose nearly all the professors of the University of Edinburgh. If again this and other powers should be vested in trustees, how apt are those entrusted with the management of public foundations to neglect them through age, infirmity, change of residence, and other causes, and how partial and inattentive are they in appointing their successors.

It seems evidently just and proper, that in a university, as in every other public institution, the power of directing its concerns should belong to its founders and supporters. Who then are the *supporters* of a university? Certainly they are its best and chief supporters, who by their fees contribute the principal part of its annual income, who fill its halls, submit to its discipline, improve by its instructions, and thus establish and extend its fame. On the ground, therefore, of abstract right it appears proper, that all, who have pursued their studies in the university, and in

* Maitland, ibid.

† "The alarm, which I felt on this occasion, in common with many others of my colleagues, was not a little increased, when we understood that the opinion of these gentlemen was sanctioned by that of Mr. Ranken, Tailor to his Majesty," &c. Short Statement of Facts, by Dugald Stewart, p. 6, 3d edit.

attestation of their regular and diligent attendance, and of their proficiency in the various branches of knowledge, which it imparts, have received from it the degree of M. A., should be entitled to a voice in the direction of its concerns. Great evils and inconveniences might however arise, if graduates, who had long quitted the university and given up all connexion with it, were allowed to come forward upon any sudden commotion or emergency, and to exercise an interference, which might obstruct the aims of its constant friends, and perhaps undo by a single resolution, what they had been many months or years in effecting. Graduates, therefore, who wish to retain the privilege in question, may be expected, in token of their continued attachment to the university, and of their wish to participate in its concerns, to contribute a small sum annually; and, to avoid the inconvenience of sending that sum long distances, they may be allowed to make at any time a proper composition in lieu of it, as is done by the Fellows of the Scientific Societies in London.

The *Founders* of a university are those who give money or other property for its use. Let the rule be, that every person, who within the first five years from the commencement of the university shall have given £100 for its use, shall have a vote, and an additional vote for every additional £100; and that the gift of other property may confer the same privileges according to its value to the university. Lastly, the *Professors* should be entitled, as members of the university, to attend its general meetings, and to speak and vote in them, since their services are mani-

festly no less essential to its existence and prosperity, than those of Founders or of any other contributors.

The *Comitia*, or *Convocation* of the university will then consist:

First, of FOUNDERS, who shall have contributed within five years from the commencement of the university to the amount of £100, and who shall have one vote for every £100 so given, but whose right shall not be transferable by bequest or any other method; the gift of other property conferring the same powers in proportion to its value to the university:

Secondly, of MASTERS OF ARTS, or DOCTORS, who have studied and graduated in the university, and who have paid the appointed annual contribution, or the composition in its stead:

Thirdly, of PROFESSORS.

It is proposed, that these members of Convocation should meet at the close of every session; and the best way of managing their affairs as a university seems to be that, which is practised by the learned Societies of London, namely, by the election of a Council from among themselves.

The admission of Masters of Arts to the privilege of being members of Convocation, qualified to vote in the election of the Council of management, would be a very important feature of the university. In recommendation of this plan it may be observed, that such persons would probably belong to many of the first families in the surrounding country; that their education, which is presumed to be the best that can be devised, would fit them to take part in directing the

affairs of a literary and scientific establishment; that their knowledge of the circumstances and details of their own place of education would enable them to provide for its wants even better than for those of any similar institution; that their attachment to it would be productive of a warm and sincere concern for its honour and prosperity; that their visits to it, as members either of Council or of Convocation, would always tend to inspirit both students and professors; that their continued connexion with it would induce them to send to it a fresh supply of pupils; and that this constitution of the Comitia is to a considerable extent practised in the two existing English Universities.* The prospect of arriving at this station in the university would also have a most powerful and happy effect upon the students during their passage through the prescribed course of academical employments. The degree of M. A. obtained in this university, would be one of the most splendid distinctions in the land; and, accompanied as it would be, by real powers and very important privileges, it would be held out to the students by their teachers to encourage and invigorate them through the whole of their juvenile labours.

* There is reason to believe, that many of the *Continental* Universities were originally constituted upon a similar plan. The university of Louvaine, which perhaps included a greater number of Colleges than any other in the world, affords an example. The controlling power, as we learn from the pleasant account of Justus Lipsius, a professor in this University, was vested in a Senate, composed of all, who had taken the degree of Doctor in Theology, Law, or Medicine, with the chief of those who had taken the degree of Master in the Liberal Arts. *Lipsii Lovanium, lib.* iii. *cap.* 3.

The reader may object to the entrusting of such important powers to those who are yet so young. But, not to mention that, young as they are, they are eligible to the great Council of the nation and to many important offices in church and state; it is to be observed, that they would not attend as members of Convocation, until five years after the commencement of the university; that for many years afterwards their numbers, and still more the numbers of their votes, would be small compared with those of the founders, and that, as their proportion increased from year to year, they would also go on increasing in age, experience, and wisdom. Indeed, so far is this objection from being valid, that the plan seems to promise the singular advantage of infusing continually a fresh vigour into the controlling body by the yearly accession of new members to supply the place of those who are prevented from acting by age, death, or other causes.

The business of the Council will be to elect from among themselves a President, Secretary, Treasurer, and other necessary officers; to fill vacant professorships, unless where that right is reserved to the representatives of founders, or in other ways restricted; to form the necessary regulations respecting the remuneration of professors; to displace them in case of misconduct or incompetency; to determine upon the establishment of new professorships, and upon any other extension of the plans, or any enlargement of the buildings, of the university; and, generally, to attend to the secure investment and useful application of its funds. The convocation

ought to be allowed upon all these subjects to recommend or suggest measures to the Council, but not to carry them into effect. Thus the constitution of the body will be sufficiently popular, and opportunities will be presented for inquiry, for the removal of doubts and suspicions, and for the prevention of abuses, without the risk of injurious measures being adopted rashly and ignorantly.

If the Council be entrusted with such ample powers, it is of the greatest importance that it be chosen well. Perhaps this may be best done by sending a sufficient time before the yearly meeting of convocation, to each elector a list of those, who are eligible, with information respecting the members of the existing Council, and those who, though chosen, have declined to act or ceased to be members of it. The electors may mark upon this list the fittest persons in their judgment to form the new Council, and may return it before a certain day to the proper officer, who will collect the votes from all the lists. If a member so elected declines acting, or omits to attend a certain number of consecutive meetings of the Council after receiving the usual call without assigning any reason, or taking any notice of his absence, his place should be supplied by the individual who has the next number of votes. In this manner, an effective Council may be appointed, and all parties and classes of men, who can have any claim to influence, will be represented in proportion to their numbers and their services to the institution.

The professors, though entitled to vote in the election of the Council, ought not to be eligible to it.

But an officer appointed by them, and to be hereafter described, will be *ex-officio* a member of the Council, and will form the regular channel of communication between the Council and the professors.

We may now conceive, on the supposition that our university has been for some years established, the animated scene of business, honour, and congratulation, which will be exhibited at the close of every session. The most distinguished students are arranged upon the lists of honour by the votes of their class-fellows, and in proportion to their several deserts: the professors meanwhile proceed with the public examination of the candidates for degrees. The members of Convocation meet to elect the Council for the ensuing year; they inquire into the progress and present condition of the various departments of the university; and publicly express their sentiments upon its concerns. At the same time they renew those intercourses, which afforded delight to the most joyous season of life; and they find among those, who have succeeded to their places, and who are looking forward to the period of gay and careless relaxation, perhaps they find among those, who are panting for distinction, or on the eve of returning home crowned with the laurels of genius, industry, and virtue, connexions and dependants, sons and brothers. After the convocation has concluded its business, the professors confer the various distinctions of the university; first, any prizes, which may have been instituted for particular essays or other exercises; secondly, medals, instruments, books, exhibitions, and scholarships, gained by eminence in the daily employments of the public

classes; and thirdly, degrees, concluding with those, which will entitle the possessors of them to attend as members of the next ensuing Convocation. If the assemblage of rank, patriotism, and wisdom, to witness the early dawn of mental greatness in the future hopes of the nation, require the addition of robes of office, of architectural magnificence, of soft and solemn music, let all these be added: but the generous bosom and the enlightened understanding will regard them as comparatively insignificant appendages to the brilliant display of intellect, the glow of affectionate feeling, and the fervid visions of imagination.

SECT. X.—*Office of Rector; Gymnastic Exercises; Polite Accomplishments.*

MENTION has just been made of an officer, who is to act as the medium of communication between the council and professors. Let him be called the RECTOR of the university, and be chosen by the professors every year, or, as in the Continental universities, every second year. His office will be

First, to attend the meetings of the Council, with liberty to speak and vote on the same terms as the other members;

Secondly, to preside at meetings of the professors upon academical business;

Thirdly, to officiate in conferring degrees, and other university honours;

Fourthly, to receive from the censors weekly accounts of the attendance of all public students in the several classes;*

Fifthly, at the commencement of every session, to enrol the names of all public students, with the dates of their birth, the places of their usual previous abode, and their parentage or other sufficient designation; the names and description of the colleges or other houses, in which they reside,† and the classes of languages or philosophy, medicine or law, in which they intend to rank;

Sixthly, to assist the several professors in making inquiries after absentees from their classes, and in considering the cases of any students whose conduct, as members of those classes, is objectionable.

For the discharge of these and other duties, which will require no small sacrifice of time and labour, the rector ought to be remunerated either by a salary from the university chest, or by small fees from the students. That he should take much upon him as a disciplinarian is not to be expected; at least no precise rules for restraining expense or even immorality among the students appear adviseable. Young men at a university

* A specimen of such accounts, reduced to a tabular form, may be seen in the Report of a Committee of the Overseers of Harvard College, Massachusetts, A. D. 1825, p. 23—29.

† "Opposite to each student's name in the University Catalogue, at Gottingen, stands not only the street, but the very house which he inhabits; and, if he remove, it must be immediately notified to his academical superiors."—*Russell's Tour in Germany*, v. i. p. 375.

Such a form of matriculation as that above described, should be required, before a man can aspire to any university honour.

must be allowed more liberty than boys at school. Approaching so near to man's estate, they ought to learn to govern themselves. The university may best secure their adherence to virtue and religion by presenting that variety of useful and agreeable employments, that field of generous emulation, and those splendid prospects of academic privileges and distinctions, which may appear most likely to counteract the tendency to indolence and dissipation. All beyond this must chiefly rest with the heads of the colleges and families, in which the students reside, or with their parents, guardians, and private tutors.

It may, however, be worth while to notice gymnastics as an antidote to base and vicious propensities, and a proper object of academical patronage. Corporal exercises are certainly favourable to the health of the mind as well as of the body. They are included in the summary of the means of attaining to perfect holiness, said to have been delivered to St. Anthony, and certainly most worthy of his adoption. "An angel came to him in the likeness of a hermit, or rather a hermit spake to him like an angel, and said, 'Nunc paululum laborando manibus, nunc genibus flexis orando, deinde corpus reficiendo, post quiescendo, et rursus iterum operando, Antoni, sic fac tu, et salvus eris.'" * Man being a compound of mind and body,

* Jer. Taylor's Ductor Dubitantium, p. 218.

To the authority of our hermit, we may add that of an excellent observer of life and manners, and of the habits and dispositions of young men, in our own times:

"At the age of seventeen or eighteen they should be indulged, even FOR A MORAL PURPOSE, in fishing, shooting, hunting, tennis, cricket, and all other diversions consistent with safety, good

both capable of improvement, that education seems essentially defective, which has not respect to both in proportion to their importance and their *capacity* of improvement. The Greeks and Romans attached the greatest value in the education of their youth to the discipline of the gymnasium. The Germans seem to hold the same opinion. Masters of Riding, Fencing, Dancing, and also of Music and Drawing, are annexed to all the German universities.† In the Swedish universities of Lund, Abo, and Upsala, these arts occupy a distinct class of professors, called *Artium cultiorum Magistri.*‡ In North America,

company, health, and economy. The propensities to vicious pleasure are often at that age impetuous. Nothing tends more to divert their course, and lessen their influence, than a keen love of innocent sports, and an ardent pursuit of them continued even to fatigue."—*Dr. Knox's Liberal Education,* sec. 31.

If these observations be well founded, the encouragement of corporal exercises among the students of a new university may serve in a great measure as a substitute for the Oxford Statute, *De muris non scandendis.*

† Professor Jahn of Berlin, and M. Carl Voelker were greatly distinguished among the teachers of gymnastics. The latter has recently published *"A Prospectus of Gymnastic Exercises,"* and has opened a gymnasium near the Regent's Park. See Oriental Herald for September, 1825, p. 442.

‡ Acerbi's Travels in Sweden, v. i. ch. viii.

No scholar or philosopher should pretend to despise these accomplishments after the following decision pronounced by Sir Wm. Jones, who was in the habit of resorting from Oxford to London in the vacations, in order to acquire them:

"As the mind can neither attend to instruction nor receive refreshment, unless the body enjoy at least a moderate share of health, those exercises are essentially necessary which tend to procure or preserve it, and which have the double advantage of

the students of Harvard University have regular hours of study and of recreation: gymnastic performances are authorised, and a military corps is kept up in the higher classes, the members of which become perfect in the manual exercise. Cokesbury College in Maryland, instituted by the Methodists for the education of their youth, has provisions with the same general view, which deserve to be mentioned not simply on account of their singularity. "The recreations of the students," says Dr. Morse, "are gardening, walking, riding, and bathing, *without* doors; and *within* doors, the carpenter's, joiner's, cabinet-maker's, or turner's business. Suitable provision is made for these several occupations, which are considered not as matters of drudgery and constraint, but as pleasing and healthful recreations, both for the body and the mind." The plan of Washington College, which was opened in 1824, at Hartford in Connecticut, includes the following important details:—"It is intended," say the Trustees, "to give to the course of education as much of a *practical character* as possible. The pupils will be made acquainted with the use of instruments, and

strengthening the constitution by promoting a free and regular circulation, and of giving grace to the body by forming it to easy and elegant motions. Hence arises the great advantage of manly sports, of dancing, of swimming, of managing the horse, and of using every sort of weapon; to which must be added the habit of declaiming with an oratorical voice and gesture, an exercise by no means general, but perhaps more useful and more ornamental than any of the others."—*Plan of a Treatise upon Education, in Lord Teignmouth's Life of Sir W. Jones.*

will be exercised in the fields, in actual surveying, mensuration of heights and distances, levelling, &c. in taking astronomical observations, and in all the operations of the topographical engineer. These exercises, it is thought, will be conducive to health, while at the same time they will impart to the student a greater interest in the sciences by making him understand their use and application. The pupils will also make frequent excursions with the Professors of Mineralogy and Botany. An agricultural establishment will be connected with the institution, and the students will have an opportunity of becoming acquainted with this primary art of life, by a course of lectures, illustrated by the practical operations of farming and gardening. Military exercises will also be embraced in the system, as a healthful occupation for some of the hours usually devoted to recreation." Mr. Jefferson, in his plan of a college for Virginia, says, "through the whole of the collegiate course, at the hours of recreation, on certain days, all the students should be taught the manual exercise, military evolutions and manœuvres, and should be under a standing organization as a military corps, with proper officers to train and command them." Milton attaches great importance to the same object, thinking that academical education ought to be "equally good both for peace and war," and therefore proposing, that an hour and a half before dinner, and about two hours before supper, should be allowed for recreation. "The exercise, which I commend first," says he, "is the exact use of their weapon; to guard and to strike safely with edge or point; this

will keep them healthy, nimble, strong, and well in breath, is also the likeliest means to make them grow large and tall, and to inspire them with a gallant and fearless courage, which, being tempered with seasonable lectures and precepts to them of true fortitude and patience, will turn into a native and heroic valour, and make them hate the cowardice of doing wrong. They must be also practised in all the locks and gripes of wrestling, wherein Englishmen were wont to excel, as need may often be in fight to tugge, to grapple, and to close." He also proposes that they should acquire, both on foot and on horseback, "all the skill of embattailing, marching, encamping, fortifying, besieging, and battering." "The interim of convenient rest," says he, quite in the spirit of poetry, "may both with profit and delight be taken up in recreating and composing their travail'd spirits with solemn and divine harmonies of music heard or learnt; either while the skilful *Organist* plies his grave and fancied descant in lofty fugues, or the whole symphony with artful and unimaginable touches adorn and grace the well-studied chords of some choice composer; sometimes the lute, or soft organ stop, waiting on elegant voices, either to religious, martial, or civil ditties; which, if wise men and prophets be not extremely out, have a great power over dispositions and manners, to smooth and make them gentle from rustic harshness and distempered passions." It is remarkable, that so religious a man as Milton was, educated too at Cambridge, does not prescribe music to be used as a part of devotion, but to sooth and calm the spirits after bodily exertion, and as a preparative and accompaniment to the social meal.

Sect. XI.—*Of the Library.*

One of the most important parts of the establishment of every university is its *Library*. In the scheme, which is here delineated, the attention paid to physics, mechanics, and natural history, will make it no less requisite to collect apparatus and specimens than books.

No university in the world has a library so useful and so well conducted as Gottingen. It contains nearly 200,000 volumes. These have been chosen, not on account of their splendour or rarity, but for the purposes of daily use among both professors and students. A great number of librarians are employed in the management of it, and by their industry three catalogues have been drawn out; one alphabetical; another, in which the books are entered in the order of their introduction into the library; and the third, a catalogue of subjects, consisting of references under every head to all the books in the library, which contain information on that head. The last catalogue consists of above 150 folio volumes, and is the result of the combined and systematic labour of numerous professors and librarians. The prospect of the use of this library not only induces young men disposed to reading and research to enter the university as students, but is generally considered by the professors in Germany as a great recommendation of a Gottingen chair. Mr. John Russell, in his late "*Tour in Germany*," observes, "The £1000 or £1200, which Government pays every year in book-

seller's accounts, cannot be reckoned an additional expense. The professors themselves say, that without it, it would be necessary to lay out as much, if not more, in augmenting their salaries; for, if they had to purchase their own books, they could not afford to labour on salaries, varying from £150 to £200. Meiners calculated, in the beginning of the present century, that the saving thus made on salaries was at least equal to the whole expense of the library." The same remarks would apply to the purchase of philosophical apparatus and specimens of natural history. If the professors are obliged to buy those articles themselves, their salaries must be larger in proportion. Since therefore this will be one of the most useful and necessary modes of applying the funds of a new English university, let the Council determine each year what sum they can afford to devote to such purposes, and divide it into portions according to the number of the professors, authorizing each professor to expend the amount specified in adding to the museum, the philosophical apparatus, or the library. Thus every professor will aim at making the collection as complete in his own department as the funds will permit. To examine the accounts for articles thus purchased, should be the office of the Librarian and Keeper of the museum and apparatus in conjunction with the Rector.

The magnificent University libraries at Oxford and Cambridge are open only to those who rank as high as Masters of Arts. At Edinburgh and Glasgow, the libraries, which are very extensive and valuable, are accessible to all students; but a deposit of one or

two guineas is required as a security for the books taken out. A subscription from the students would be necessary, in the projected establishment, to defray its current expenses; and each man having paid his *subscription*, might be allowed to take out books in proportion to the amount of his *deposit*.

At the present moment, the projectors of a new university have a singularly favourable opportunity of promoting its welfare, and establishing its celebrity. A better foundation for a university library cannot be imagined, than that which is now offered to the public in the collection of the late Dr. Parr. His wishes were that it should be sold considerably under its value, if secured from dispersion by being appropriated to some public institution. It was collected by him at an unsparing expense of money, diligence, and judgment, and with a view not to splendour, but to utility. In classical literature, it is unrivalled by any private collection. In metaphysics, in theology, and in the civil and ecclesiastical history of England, it is most complete. A new university could not better expend six or seven thousand pounds, than in the immediate purchase of a collection, which could not fail to draw learned men and industrious students from all parts, and would of itself give great lustre to a rising seminary of education.

Sect. XII.—*Remuneration of the Professors.*

With regard to the amount of the *salaries* of professors, all good political economists will recommend the greatest moderation. "Salaries," observes Mr.

Craig,* " when the chief fund of maintenance to the professors, in place of being merely premiums for abilities, and marks of public confidence, can hardly fail to relax exertion. He, for whom a sufficient income is provided by the public, will be disposed, partly from indolence, and partly from the irksomeness of year after year going over the same course of instructions, to gain his reward as easily as he can. He will either transform his office into a sinecure, trusting to the press for reputation ; or, if the rules of the university, and the system of public superintendence, should prevent this abuse, he may be expected to deliver feeble and uninteresting lectures, to which, as little instruction can be expected, few students will resort." The same opinions are maintained and illustrated at considerable length by Dr. Adam Smith, who was himself a professor. The whole of the second Article in book v. chapter i. of his immortal work, is recommended to the attentive study of all, who are interested in the subject of academical education. He shows the destructive effects to the interests of knowledge of making the whole income of professors to depend upon salaries paid by the government, or out of appropriate endowments; and the tendency of his observations is to prove, that their income should entirely arise from fees.

The arguments of these authors are abundantly confirmed by facts. The chief reason why the munificence of Sir Thomas Gresham has not done more for the objects which he had in view, and is now entirely thrown away, is, that by his will he

* Elements of Political Science, v. ii. p. 350.

appointed, that the seven professors in his college should not receive fees for admission to their lectures.* In the same spirit of mistaken generosity, the virtuous and philosophic Cowley advises, "that none (in his college), though never so rich, shall pay any thing for their teaching; and that, if any professor shall be convicted to have taken any money in consideration of his pains in the school, he shall be expelled with ignominy by the governors; but, if any persons of great estate and quality, finding their sons much better proficients in learning here, than boys of the same age commonly are at other schools, shall not think fit to receive an obligation of so near concernment without returning some marks of acknowledgment, they may, if they please, (for nothing is to be demanded,) bestow some little rarity or curiosity upon the society in recompense of their trouble."† By the constitution of the German universities, the professors are forbidden to take fees for the lectures, which are considered as belonging to their chairs, and for the delivery of which they receive their salaries. The consequence is, that they do not deliver them at all, or rather they employ a manœuvre to claim the fees, without which they would bestow little or no attention upon them. The change was effected in the following manner at the time when John David Michaelis was a professor at Gottingen. Besides the lectures, which the professors engaged to give *gratis*, they adopted the expedient of giving others for fees,

* Ward's Life of Gresham.

† Proposition for the Advancement of Experimental Philosophy, p. 49, folio ed.

bestowing upon the latter all their pains and care. The consequence was, that the public, or *gratis* lectures were neglected, and at length disappeared, and what were called *private* took their place. "These private lectures are in every respect, except that of expense, the old public lectures; they are given in the same place, in the same way, on the same topics, but they must be paid for."* It has been often remarked, that the celebrity of the University of Edinburgh, particularly as a medical school, is chiefly to be ascribed to the small amount of the salaries of the professors. "None of the professorships have ever been suffered to degenerate into sinecures, their emoluments depending chiefly on their reputation and success in teaching: their salaries are only from £50 to £100 per annum; and, with regard to the medical professors, many of these have nothing but the profits of their classes."† Oliver Goldsmith, in the course of his education, was a student successively at Dublin, Edinburgh, and Leyden. He relates the following conversation with one of the most eminent of his continental instructors relative to the question before us. "Happening once, in conversation with Gaubius of Leyden, to mention the College of Edinburgh, he began by complaining, that all the English students, who formerly came to his University, now went entirely there; and the fact surprised him more, as Leyden was now as well as ever furnished with masters excellent in their respective professions. He concluded by asking, if the

* Russell's Tour in Germany, v. i. p. 146.

† Newte's Tour in Scotland, 1791, p. 348.

professors of Edinburgh were rich. I replied, that the salary of a professor there seldom amounted to more than thirty pounds a year. "Poor men!" says he; "I heartily wish they were better provided for; until they become rich, we can have no expectation of English students at Leyden."*

But the desire of accumulating fees ought not to be considered as the only motive, which should animate a professor. In a university such as that proposed, open to all, and designed to confer, as extensively as possible, the benefits and the ornaments of liberal education, a professorship will be esteemed a most honourable office, to which men of talents will aspire from higher views than the love of money. "The place of Astronomer Royal (at Greenwich) has a salary of 200*l.* a year. Queen Caroline offered to Dr. Halley, who was then Astronomer Royal, an augmentation of his salary; but that philosopher, with the disinterestedness of a true lover of science, declined accepting it, because, he said, while the salary was small, the place would never be an object to any but an astronomer; should it become more considerable, it would be sought after for the sake of emolument, and might be given away from political intrigue. He therefore requested of her Majesty to mark her zeal for science rather by improving the instruments of the observatory than by augmenting the salary of the astronomer."† The same noble spirit ought to manifest itself in the teachers of our new academy. They ought to be chosen, and to be continued, because they manifest an

* Present State of Polite Learning, chap. x.

† Professor Playfair's Works, vol. i. p. lxxx.

aptitude for the office, because they take delight in its duties, and because they are willing to sacrifice part of the wealth, which they might obtain in other employments, for the sake of promoting the intellectual and moral improvement of the young. In fixing, therefore, the amount of fees for the public lectures of professors, the Council ought to be guided, not merely by a desire to make them equal in amount to what might be obtained by the same individuals in other employments: consulting the good of the public, and considering the motives with which a man ought to enter on a professorship, they should fix them not above what may be regarded as *the market price*. Perhaps five guineas should be the highest fee paid for any course of lectures, though extending through the whole session, and including a second hour for exercises and examinations. Although this would make university education cheaper than it now is in Britain, it would still be dearer than on the Continent; and it ought to be remembered, that in England a close monopoly has hitherto been preserved, which, besides deteriorating the article, has raised it to a very excessive price. At the commencement of a new university, it would be necessary to ensure to the professors a certain amount per annum to obviate the risk of failure, while their situation was yet of the nature of an experiment: but after a few years they ought to depend entirely on their fees. Without any salary the office will present abundant allurements, not only in the profits which they will derive from other sources; but in the very nature of so useful, honourable, and pleasant an employment; and in the

peculiar advantages of their situation as professors, entitling them to the use of the library and apparatus, giving them the privilege of purchasing books and other articles at the expense and for the benefit of the university, furnishing them with lecture-rooms rent-free, and drawing students to their classes, even beyond the proportion of their merit as lecturers, in consequence of the access to degrees and other public honours by attendance on them, and of the credit attached to their official capacity.

SECT. XIII.—*Probable Number of Students in a New English University.*

It is desirable to form some judgment respecting the probable number of students, who would avail themselves of the establishment of a new English university. The following data may conduce to this object.

The number of young men, who every winter attend the *medical* schools of London, is supposed to be about 1000, but cannot be exactly ascertained. On the 1st of August last, the Senatus Academicus of the University of Edinburgh conferred the degree of *Doctor in Medicine* on 140 gentlemen, of whom 49 were natives of England, 6 of Wales, and 7 of the Colonies: 42 were Irish, and nearly all the rest Scotch.* If England had contained a university, offering the advantages, which drew these men to Edinburgh, it may be reasonably inferred, that at

* Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal, for Oct. 1825, p. 419—421.

least 60 out of the 140 would have preferred graduating in England. But, besides Edinburgh, English physicians resort for medical study and for graduation to Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Dublin, and to the Continent. Suppose we reckon their number to amount to 40: it will follow, that a new English university, authorized to deliver the best instruction and to confer degrees in medicine, will confer the degree of Doctor in that faculty upon at least 100 persons annually. These graduates may be supposed to have attended the lectures of the medical professors during a period of at least three years. It may, therefore, be concluded, that 300, or more probably 400 students will attend the lectures every session with the view of qualifying themselves to practise as physicians.

By the Acts of 55 George III. and 6 George IV. no one can practise as an *apothecary* in England or Wales, unless he has served an apprenticeship of at least five years in preparing himself for that employment, and has also attended at least six courses of lectures, besides the practice of some hospital, infirmary, or dispensary. After these preparatory studies, he submits to an examination at Apothecaries' Hall in London; and, if that examination proves satisfactory, he receives a certificate, authorizing him to establish himself in his employment. In the year ending the 1st August last, 365 persons received such certificates.* It is usual for those who become apothecaries, to obtain from the Royal College of Surgeons diplomas, which give them legal authority

* See the List printed by the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries, A. D. 1825.

to practise as *surgeons* also. But a considerable number become surgeons by virtue of such diplomas without being qualified to practise as apothecaries. Their number cannot be precisely stated. At a very low estimate, they may be reckoned 35, making the entire number of surgeons and apothecaries, authorized annually to commence practising in England and Wales, to amount to 400. Of the six years, which they are in general required to devote to preparatory studies and employments, there can be little doubt, that, on an average, two would be spent in attending the lectures of a university furnishing the best advantages for study. Of this class, therefore, we may reckon 800; and the entire number of medical students will be 1200 each session.

The *legal* profession in all its branches is far more numerous than the medical. But it is difficult to arrive at a computation of those who are preparing to practise respectively in the courts of Chancery, of Common law, and of Civil and Ecclesiastical law, either as advocates, or, in the lower walks of the profession, as solicitors, attornies, and proctors. The number of young men entered at the Temple, Lincoln's Inn, and Gray's Inn, and studying the law in London at one time with a view to become either barristers, conveyancers, or special pleaders, is supposed to be between 600 and 700. From the present habits and ideas of English lawyers, it is very improbable, that they would encourage in their successors the same propensity to receive oral and professorial instruction, which is so decidedly conspicuous in our students of medicine. Notwithstanding, there-

fore, the vast numbers, who attend lectures on law in many universities, not more than 800 *law students* can be reasonably expected in a new English university. These, added to the supposed number of medical students, will make a total of 2000. The advantages, which London presents for medical and legal study, are so superior to those of any other place, that, although 2000 such students might be confidently expected to attend the classes of a London university, constituted and privileged in the manner which has been described, yet perhaps *one thousand* medical and law students are as many as can be expected to resort to a similar establishment in any other place.

The classes of Philosophy and Languages in the supposed university would be more variously composed than those of Law and Medicine. Besides young men preparing to pass on to the latter classes, they would consist of others designed to become ministers of religion in various sects and churches; of no inconsiderable number educated to be school-masters, or instructors of youth; of a still greater proportion who would study chemistry and natural philosophy with a view to the prosecution of many different manufactures; and of a great multitude, who would become merchants or agriculturists, or would live upon their private fortunes. Patriotism and philanthropy would indulge the wish, that young men designed for the army and the navy, and for official stations in every part of the British dominions, might receive at least the elements of academical education in the same halls with the rest of their young countrymen: the accomplishment of this object must of course depend upon the opinion and pleasure of

the Government and of the East India Directors. These various descriptions of students in the classes of Languages and Philosophy would be in a great measure derived from the denominations, which dissent from the Church of England, or are not included in it, and which, taken together, equal the number of members of the Church of England. In wealth, it is true, they fall collectively very far short of that church. But the expenses of education in the projected national institution would be in proportion to their ability; and they would thus be enabled, as they are unquestionably disposed, to partake of the benefits of academical education as generally as the members of the Church of England. Now in universities such as those of Edinburgh and Glasgow, which give good instruction in all the four faculties, and are open on moderate terms to all sects without distinction, the medical and law students are little more than *a third part* of the entire number of students: and it may without exaggeration be anticipated, that in an English university, similarly constituted, the classes of Languages and Philosophy would contain at least an equal number of students with those of Medicine and Law. They would indeed soon overflow, supposing the university to be established either in London, or in any populous and flourishing district either of the North or of the West of England. Upon the whole, it appears highly probable, that in any favourable situation the number of students will be not less than from *three* to *four thousand*. From the same premises it follows, that, if their various fees be reckoned at 10*l.* per annum for each individual, the income arising perpetually from this source alone will be from *thirty* to *forty thousand pounds*.

From considering the situation and views of the various descriptions of students now enumerated, it is further manifest,, that the supposed number of students may be calculated upon, *although not one man be subtracted from the number of resident students either at Oxford or Cambridge.*

SECT. XIV.—*Edifices necessary or desirable for the Purposes of a University. Meaning and Origin of the word University.*

Upon the subject of buildings for a university, the ideas of the English differ widely from those of the learned upon the Continent. *We* derive our conceptions of a university from the splendid establishments at Oxford and Cambridge; and our imaginations are so occupied with the reverential delight, which they have rendered habitual, that we find it difficult to suppose the existence of a university without similar appendages, and are even prone to consider ancient halls and magnificent colleges, not as its accidents, but its very essence. Any alumnus of our sister Universities would naturally share in the feelings expressed by Mr. Jacob on visiting that of Jena, one of the most famous in all Germany: "If," says he, "the vicinity pleased me much, I was no less disgusted with the appearance of Jena itself. I certainly had anticipated something approaching to Oxford and Cambridge. There are, however, no gothic, or any other halls. The professors deliver their lectures at their own houses, or rather lodgings, where the youths

may, or may not attend them, as they please. The students live wherever they can hire an apartment.—A single room, neither large, ancient, nor handsome, in which the professors sometimes meet on public business, *is the only thing that can be called the University.*"* Cowley appears to have had his imagination occupied with the impressions derived from the unequalled grandeur of Trinity College at Cambridge, when he moulded into form his "Proposition for the Advancement of Experimental Philosophy." Although the College, which he projected, would have been "within such bounds of expense as have often been exceeded by the buildings of private citizens," yet he concludes with saying, "that it may seem hopeless to raise such a sum out of those few dead reliques of humane charity and public generosity, which are yet remaining in the world:" and his friend, Bishop Sprat, observes,† that "his plan was not perhaps practicable, because he consulted the generosity of his own mind rather than other men's, requiring it to be endowed with too large a revenue." In the new Institution, designed to answer the purposes of a university in London, it was first proposed by Mr. Campbell, that £150,000 should be expended in a building,‡ and double that sum has since been mentioned as necessary. But these terms are cheap compared with those promulged in 1814 by Charles Kelsall, Esq. in his quarto volume, tasteful, elegant, erudite, and splendid, and bearing a most

* View of the Agriculture, Manufactures, Statistics, &c. of Germany, by Wm. Jacob, Esq. F. R. S. 1820, p. 344.

† Hist. of Royal Society, part ii.

‡ New Monthly Magazine for April, 1825.

appropriate title, "*Phantasm of a University.*" The congregated edifices of his own Alma Mater* would fall far beneath the magnificence of his "Nurse of Universal Science." "The lowest estimate of the university, with the supposition of a quarry of free-stone being at hand," amounts to £5,000,000.† It is to "exhibit seven quadrangles, somewhat larger in area than Lincoln's Inn Fields."‡ The seven altogether are to form a square, each side being 3000 feet long. The various parts of the edifice are displayed in 109 magnificent elevations, presenting all the most eligible varieties of Grecian, Roman, Saxon, Gothic, and Italian Architecture; and finally, he says, "the reader may conclude how little more than a sketch has been laid before him, when he is informed, that the sum of £12,000 would scarcely place my university on copper in a way satisfactory to myself. Had engraving in our metropolis been as cheap as at Paris, all the alti and bassi relievi should have been executed together with at least a dozen more elevations."

Such splendid visions as these, however, and such erroneous conceptions of the nature of a university, are not the necessary and uniform result of an education at Cambridge. One of its historians, formerly quoted, has given a more correct idea of its essence in the following spirited paraphrase of some well-known lines by Sir William Jones. "What is a state? Not brick, and stone, and mortar; not triumphal arches, nor mausoleums, that would cheat the grave; not written constitutions, ancient privileges, nor rights upon charters; but

* Cambridge. † p. 171. ‡ p. 129.

'men, high-minded men.' And what are universities? Not senate-houses, libraries, and schools; not gardens and groves; museums and chapels; nor yet monastic dreams, clerical impostures, temporary disputes, and antiquated statutes; but students, scholars, social and rational beings." * To the same effect is the following definition of a university in the Encyclopedia Britannica. "UNIVERSITY is the name of a Corporation, formed for the education of youth in the liberal arts and sciences, and authorized to admit such as have studied in it to certain *degrees* in different faculties, which not only serve as certificates of proficiency in science, but also confer on those who obtain them considerable privileges within the university, as well as some rank in the state without it. Universities generally comprehend within them one or more colleges. But this is not always the case; for the University of St. Andrew's was in being before either of its colleges was founded, and it would continue in being with all its privileges, though both its colleges were levelled with the dust." By parity of reason, any other university, as that of Oxford, for example, would continue as long as its charter of incorporation remained in force, although the city of Oxford, with every building belonging to it, were annihilated. The University of Glasgow was long in this very predicament. It not only had no buildings, but no fixed property of any kind. The *Congregatio Universitatis*, or General Annual Meeting of its members, was always held in the cathedral. The lectures were read, and the meetings of the

* Dyer's History of the University of Cambridge, Introduction, p. 6, 7.

doctors and masters took place in the Convent of the Dominicans. Certain fees were paid at incorporation and on taking degrees, and these perquisites, being put into a university purse, were employed after some years to purchase caps of ceremony. Small annuities were bequeathed by some of the first members of the University, which were paid to two or three masters of arts, to perform certain masses for the souls of the founders and their friends. "This patronage and this purse, as far as appears, were all the property, which the University ever possessed."* The University of Paris, which far surpassed that of Glasgow in importance and renown, as well as in antiquity, was almost equally poor. The only estate attached to it, during many ages, was a meadow, from which it did not even attempt to derive a revenue, but appropriated it to the purposes of recreation for the students, and regretted to be at length obliged to dispose of it for building.† Mr. George Dyer, adverting to this account of Paris, remarks, ‡ that the English Universities are less liberal in proportion as they are more wealthy. If this is a *necessary* consequence, the opulence of universities is above all things to be deprecated.

There is another error respecting the sense of the word UNIVERSITY, which has prevailed not in England only, but in other countries. It may be traced to the celebrated physician and benefactor of the University of Cambridge, Dr. Caius, who asserts, that

* See the above mentioned account of the University of Glasgow, transmitted to Sir J. Sinclair, by Professor Jardine, in the name of the Principal and Professors, p. 13.

† Crevier Histoire de l'Université de Paris, tom. vii. p. 152.

‡ Privileges of the University of Cambridge, vol. ii. p. 149.

universities are so called, because they comprise the knowledge and profession *of all the sciences*, "*universarum scientiarum cognitionem et professionem.*"* Sir George Buc, alluding probably to this opinion of Caius, says of the name in question, "It hath been lately given and appropriated to general schools of learning for and in respect of the *Universalitie* of Arts, Sciences, and Faculties, professed, taught, and studied in them."† Mosheim asserts, that the Academy of Paris "was the first learned society which extended the sphere of education, received all the sciences into its bosom, and appointed masters for every branch of erudition;" and that "it was hence distinguished, before any other academy, with the title of a University, *to denote its embracing the whole circle of science.*"‡ Tiraboschi adopts the same etymology, "In tal maniera l'Universitá di Bologna, che ben possiamo con tal nome appellarla, *poichè di quasi tutte le scienze eranvi professori,*" &c.§ Among ourselves, Kelsall and Campbell employ similar language. "A University," says the latter, "means, both in common parlance and in the dictionary, not a place for getting degrees, but for getting instruction as *universally* as possible."‖ But what say the lawyers? Jacob's Law Dictionary defines *University* to be the Civil Law term for a *Corporation.* Blackstone states, that in the Civil

* De Antiquitate Cantab. Academiæ, Lon. 1574, p. 40.

† The Third Universitie of England, published at the end of Stow's Annals, continued by Howes.

‡ Ecclesiastical History, Cent. xiii. vol. iii. p. 152, of Maclaine's translation.

§ Storia della Litter. Ital.

‖ New Monthly Mag. p. 407.

Law, Corporations "were called *Universitates*, as forming one whole out of many individuals."* It is evident, therefore, that societies of teachers and learners, such as those at Oxford, Edinburgh, and other places, are called UNIVERSITIES, *because they are Corporations.* Accordingly, in the most ancient deed, which has been preserved, executed by the University of Paris,† the following expression occurs; "*We, the University of the Masters and Scholars of Paris:*" and in the earliest authentic charter, relating to Cambridge, that of Henry III., we find the phrase *Clericus aliquis de Universitate scholarium Cantabrigiæ studentium*, "Any clerk from among the University of scholars studying at Cambridge."‡

To the former of the two contending etymologies it may be further objected, that the assumption, on which it is founded, is inconsistent with fact. Middendorp, who was Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cologne in the 16th century, and the earliest systematical writer on this branch of literary history, justly observes, that universities were not so called, "because all liberal arts were taught in them, since many were erected for the pursuit only of certain studies;"§ and he illustrates this circumstance by a

* Commentaries, vol. i. ch. 18, p. 469. Blackstone also determines that the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge are not *ecclesiastical* but *lay* corporations.

† A. D. 1221. *See Crevier, Hist. De l'Univ. de Paris*, tom. i. p. 323, where it is remarked that Universitas might perhaps be better translated *Company*. See also tom. ii. p. 192, *note*.

‡ Dyer's Privileges of Cambridge, vol. i. p. 384.

§ Academiarum Universi Orbis libri viii. auctore Jac. Middendorpio, l. i. p. 2.

survey of the existing universities of Europe. The language employed about the same time by Lord Bacon, is yet more remarkable. Near the beginning of the second book of his great work *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, he thus speaks: "Primum igitur, inter tot totius Europæ Collegia præclarissimè fundata, omnia illa certis professionibus destinata esse demiror, *nulla liberis atque universalibus artium et scientiarum studiis dedicata.*" In illustration of these general assertions a few examples may be brought forward. By the *original* charter of the University of Caen, published in Ducarel's Anglo-Norman Antiquities, it was instituted solely for the study of Civil and Canon Law. It may abate the alarm, which has been recently expressed by some persons in this country, to inform them, that the study of Theology was entirely prohibited both at Caen, and in various other universities, by their original constitution, and by the authority of popes and princes. The fact is, that Theology was considered as the peculiar province of the University of Paris; and we find, that, notwithstanding Mosheim's assertion respecting it, the study of both Law and Medicine at Paris was at one time forbidden, in order that the members of that University might devote themselves exclusively to theological pursuits.* On the other hand, the study of Theology was prohibited in some universities of later erection, lest they should obstruct the success of that at Paris. The University of Montpelier may be cited as an example. The bull of Nicholas IV. given in 1289, authorizes it to confer the degrees of Master and Doctor in Civil and

* Crevier, Hist. de l'Univ. de Paris, tom. i. p. 316, 317.

Canon Law, in Medicine, and in Arts, but not in Theology.*

Perhaps, the most satisfactory account of the origin and proper meaning of the term *University*, is that which has been furnished by Professor Jardine and his colleagues at Glasgow in the following words: "The plan, upon which universities were incorporated by the popes, was very like to that of incorporated towns and boroughs, and perhaps was borrowed from it. The university corresponds to the whole incorporation of the borough: the different faculties to the different companies of the trades or crafts, into which the borough is divided. A company is a smaller incorporation, subordinate to that of the borough; has the power of choosing its own head, or deacon; and an authority over those who are in the course of being trained to the same craft. The companies in the incorporated towns were anciently called *Collegia*, or Colleges; and the whole incorporation, comprehending all the companies, was called the *Universitas* of that town. These names were, by analogy, applied to corporations of the learned professions, and at last appropriated to them." †

These considerations may restrain the impetuosity of the founders of a new English University to expend their money in a magnificent edifice, *as the*

* See Crevier, tom. ii. p. 121, where we are informed, that the study of Theology was for the same reason interdicted at Lisbon. Martin V. by his bull granted in 1425, for erecting the University of Louvaine, authorizes it to give instructions and confer degrees in all the arts and faculties, with the exception only of Theology; four years afterwards Eugenius IV. granted the power of teaching Theology also. *Lipsii Lovanium*, lib. iii. c. 1.

† Sinclair's Stat. Account of Scotland, vol. xxi. p. 7.

first essential requisite to its existence and its prosperity. The use of temporary buildings, hired for the purpose, will allow time for maturing its plans. As soon as its arrangements have been brought into a definite shape, after it has obtained "a local habitation and a name," the erection of some buildings will be highly expedient. In planning them, taste should go hand in hand with science and economy. But, above every thing, let them be as DURABLE as possible, that the associations of their young occupants may never be violated by their disuse or decay, and that future generations may learn to visit them with the deep reverential delight and the sacred and ardent admiration, derived from early and historical recollections.

The first building requisite is a hall, capable of accommodating from three to four thousand persons, to be used for public examinations, and for the annual meetings of convocation. This would serve also, until the funds permitted a further expenditure, as a lecture-room for some of the most numerous classes; and it would hold the library, the apparatus, and the museum. Lecture-rooms for the professors of languages and philosophy should next be built; and perhaps, after these, a sum of money might be most usefully laid out in apartments destined to accommodate at their option those students, who were placed high in the scale of merit. Houses for the professors, with other buildings, might be added from time to time, at the determination of the council, guided by a regard to circumstances.* For the

* Possevinus, in his account of the University of Salamanca, which he proposes as a model for others, (*Bibliotheca Selecta*, lib. i. cap. ix. p. 46.) mentions that a tenth part of its revenues was applied to the support of an infirmary for the students;

securing of a proper site, which ought to be airy, healthful, and pleasant, and sufficiently extensive to admit of future enlargements; for the erection of buildings, and the purchase of books and apparatus; for the payment of the professors and other officers; and for various general purposes, it appears necessary, that the founders should contribute property to the amount of not less than thirty thousand pounds. If the generosity of the friends of knowledge and national improvement should extend further, there will be ample room for the useful employment of their greatest munificence. It should be a fundamental rule, that, if ever the university shall be dissolved, its property shall be divided among the donors, or their representatives, in proportion to their original contributions. Indeed, *by law*, the *lands* and *tenements* of a university, as of every other corporation, revert, in case of its dissolution, to the donors or their heirs.*

Sect. XIV.—*Is a retired or a populous Situation preferable for a University?*

The last subject, which seems to require discussion as a matter of primary importance, is the question, whether it is better to establish a university in

"Nosodochium, in quo pauperes omnes scholarum studiosi, cum morbo tentati sunt, curantur egregiè." Mr. Mitchell informs us (*Tour through Belgium*, Letter V.) that in the Colleges or Lycées of Belgium and France, an infirmary for the pupils is commonly a part of the establishment. The funds of a new English University might probably, in the course of time, be applied with great advantage to a similar institution.

* *Blackstone's Commentaries*, vol. i. ch. 18. p. 484; and vol. ii. ch. 15, p. 256.

a large town or in a rural retirement. In general, the noise, the confusion, the luxury and dissipation of cities, have been considered by the friends of instruction as prohibitions from entering their precincts: the Muses have been thought to flee for refuge to groves and green pastures, and quiet villages. On the other hand, experience has shown, that literary indolence, and even gross profligacy, will infest places, presumed to be devoted to study and sacred to science. Many considerations tend to prove, that, other circumstances remaining the same, the larger the town, and the more populous the district, in which a university is established, the more likely is it to become flourishing and useful.

1. In the first place, there is an obvious advantage to all within its vicinity, who are disposed to pay due attention to academical studies without changing their abode. To many, a change of residence must be desirable: young persons, whose domestic circumstances are unfavourable to study, and who therefore go to some distance, and become inhabitants of a strange country, for the sake of education, will be reminded, perhaps, of their proper duties by every object and scene around them. Those, on the contrary, who have quiet and peaceful homes, and are not liable to frequent and imperious interruptions, will, by attending on lectures and exercises in their own town, be relieved from considerable risks to their health and their morals, and from heavy expenses in board, lodging, and travelling. No better opportunity of trying the local influence of a university can be supposed, than that which exists in Glasgow; a city, which, when compared with the other great

towns throughout Britain, appears inferior only to the metropolis in population, in the extent and variety of its trading and manufacturing industry, and in the exertion of talents of every kind by its inhabitants. The course of instruction in its college is proportionally various and extensive. No British university presents so many motives to emulation, and such a diversified exercise and display of intellect. At the end of every session prizes are awarded to almost every kind of proficiency and merit, which belong to British students. At the last distribution, as may be seen in the *Glasgow Herald* of April 30, 1825, 220 prizes were awarded. No less than 70 of these were allotted to young men residing in Glasgow, besides a considerable number obtained by students from towns and villages in its vicinity. This example clearly proves, that a very large proportion of the youth of a populous city will be disposed to profit by a university established near their homes, open to them on moderate terms, and free from the distinctions of party. When, after the memorable Spanish war, the States General of Holland gave to the inhabitants of Leyden, as a reward for their heroic bravery, the option between an exemption from taxes and a university, they wisely chose the latter. Holland has now three celebrated Universities,* open to all sects without distinction. Why should not

* Leyden, Utrecht, and Groningen. Of the state of these universities, an account is given in Mitchell's Tour through Belgium, Holland, &c. A. D. 1816. This author has furnished (at p. 245—250) a copy of the ample *Series Lectionum*, or Catalogue of the Courses of Lectures in the several Faculties about to be delivered at Utrecht in the session of 1816—1817. It comprises between 60 and 70 courses of lectures.

Yorkshire and Lancashire, which equal Holland in wealth, population, and extent; why should not these, and the adjoining counties, have the benefit of at least one university, planted in the midst of them, and accessible upon as easy conditions as possible to all their inhabitants?

2. In the second place, many of the implements of study and of teaching are to be obtained only in very populous places. Wolff urged as a reason for establishing a university in Berlin, rather than in any other part of Prussia, not only the presence of many illustrious scholars and philosophers upon the spot, but the libraries, the museums, and the botanic garden, which in any other place could only be procured after a long time, and by an enormous expenditure. His arguments prevailed; and "the University of Berlin, though only founded in 1810, is, after Gottingen, the most flourishing and reputable in Germany." * Besides such establishments as those at Berlin, every instructor in the physical sciences requires the frequent aid of different classes of tradesmen, who are never collected together except in large towns. How can a diligent and attentive professor undertake to explain the details of chemistry and mechanics, for example, and to give any variety to his experiments and illustrations, without either making his apparatus for himself, or maintaining artificers for the purpose, or employing those who live in his neighbourhood?

To the more advanced students in any of the three professions of medicine, law, and divinity, large towns present the most decided advantages. The

* Russell's Tour in Germany, vol. ii. p. 88.

opportunities of seeing the various forms of disease are so necessary to medical students, that no universities, except those in very populous places, such as Dublin, Edinburgh, and Glasgow, pretend to give adequate instructions in the healing art. The same observation applies to the study of law. In Scotland the juridical faculty flourishes principally at Edinburgh, because the supreme legal tribunals are held there. At Oxford the scholars of every class and condition are restricted by severe penalties from being present, except for special causes approved by the Vice-Chancellor, at the sessions or assizes.* It is difficult to conceive sufficient grounds for the imposition of such restraints upon the reasonable curiosity of young men, who have probably no other opportunity of witnessing the processes of executive justice, and whose academical employments are so regulated as to prevent that curiosity from becoming prurient, idle, or impertinent. In any of our assize towns, and most of all in the most populous, the courts may teach better than any other method of instruction three things, which ought to be learnt by all young men in the usual circumstances of students at a university; first, the ready exercise of talent, eloquence, and acuteness; secondly, the knowledge of human nature; and thirdly, reverence for the laws and institutions of the country. In educating students of theology, one of the principal objects is to make them useful preachers. This talent cannot be acquired by attending lectures, or even by hearing discourses in the best manner of select university preachers. They must obtain it by forming a part

* Excerpta e Corpore Stat. Univ. Oxon. tit. xv. § 3.

of mixed auditories, and by listening to the clergymen and pastors of all denominations, who are the most distinguished by their learning, their eloquence, and their industry, and who can seldom be heard in their proper character, as ministers of religion, except in large towns.

3. Thirdly, the largest towns afford the greatest facilities for boarding and lodging all who repair to a university from a distance. Whether is it easier to provide these accommodations for a hundred, a thousand, or any other number of persons, by building in a solitary place, and bringing families to it expressly for the purpose, or by going to a place where houses are already built, and families already collected? The latter is the method pursued in Edinburgh and Glasgow, where every student goes as to a well-stocked market, and makes his choice of such accommodations as his views and circumstances render most desirable for him. He may either board and lodge with a professor for £500 a year, or with a poor widow for £50. The parents and guardians of youth may engage the services of clergymen, of private tutors, or of other superintendants, to bestow whatever care each individual may require on account of his peculiar habits and dispositions, his abilities and attainments, his prospects in life, or his means of subsistence. The English Universities, with a view to the promotion of learning and the preservation of good morals, have their statutes, *Ne quis in domibus privatis victitet aut hospitetur.** If the fitness of such sta-

* At Cambridge, on account of the overflowing numbers in some Colleges, fresh-men are in many cases obliged to sleep in private houses, which are licensed for the purpose by the University and

tutes to accomplish the proposed objects were admitted, a law, expedient where wealth and time have brought together every accommodation, which colleges can furnish, may not be advisable or even practicable in commencing a new institution. To require, that a palace, a town, or even a hamlet, should be built, solely to give collegiate residences to the students and professors of a new university, would be almost the same thing as to forbid its establishment. In the course of years, it may be expected that the increase of the university funds, or the generosity of individuals, may lead to the erection of edifices, which will be very useful as dwellings, both for the professors, and for those industrious and deserving students, whose circumstances render such aid desirable. It is also probable, that different religious denominations and bodies of men * will establish colleges, the directors of which will of course be at liberty to enact their own statutes, to engage in their own forms of worship, to enforce their own methods of discipline, to distinguish themselves and their students by academical habits, to provide apartments in common, and to eat at one table, enjoying at the same time all the advantages and privileges of the university in subjection to its rules. But let it never be supposed, that these inestimable privileges and advantages should be with-

are compelled to observe certain rules and restrictions. At Oxford not even this is permitted.

* In the continental universities, colleges have often been erected for different *nations*, as well as for different religious parties or scientific bodies. Hence we read of the *Scotch College* at Paris, and of the *Irish College* at Salamanca. The Irish, the Dutch, the Savoyards, and other nations, had their separate colleges at Louvaine; and the Germans and Spaniards at Bologna.

held from a single individual on account of such peculiarities; that arbitrary modes of dress, or eating, or sleeping, or even any distinctions of worship or of faith, should be made the indispensable preliminaries to the attainment of knowledge and the cultivation of taste, virtue, and humanity. Where cheapness is the only object, young men cannot do better than dine and sup, as in college-halls and in hospitals, at one long table: but, where the amiable affections are to be exercised, and the manners of gentlemen to be acquired, the habits of domestic life are preferable. Without censuring, therefore, the custom at Oxford and Cambridge, where the societies, subordinate to the Universities, are of the nature of charitable foundations, we may recommend an English parlour as a fitter place to acquire kind feelings and virtuous manners than a Gothic refectory, and a family as a better residence for every student, who can afford it, than a college.*

* The importance of the following remarks, which are the result of abundant experience, will justify the length of the quotation.

"The University of Glasgow was anciently possessed of a jurisdiction similar to that of the other universities of Europe, and exercised a similar discipline and authority over its members. A great part of the students were accommodated with lodgings in the college, and dined at a common table, under the inspection of their teachers.—Deviations from the ancient usage were introduced from the experience of many inconveniences attending it. The common table, by collecting a multitude of students so frequently together, afforded encouragement and temptation to idleness and dissipation; and, though the masters sat at table along with the students, yet few advantages of conversation could be attained. Contrivances were fallen upon to remedy that defect, by appointing one of the students (generally a bursar or servitor) to read a portion of scripture, or of some useful book, while the rest of

4. The last, though not the least important circumstance, which renders a large town the fit place for a university, is, that it is far more favourable to the preservation of good order and propriety of behaviour among the students. This is proved by the whole history of academical education. Wherever the students form a sufficiently large part of the population to become important to their neighbours, they assume the airs of men of consequence, and are imperious and disorderly. Hence they treat with contempt, and often with the petulance and injustice which contempt is apt to produce, the tradesmen and other inhabitants,

the students were at table. But this practice, it is obvious, in such circumstances, was more likely to bring ridicule upon the subjects, or at least to occasion indifference or contempt, than to be productive of improvement. Besides, from a general alteration in the habits and manners of the people, the academical rules, in these matters, were found troublesome both to the teachers and the students. Hence, attendance at the common table became a kind of drudgery to the masters, from which they endeavoured to escape, or to which they submitted in their turns with reluctance; while the students procured dispensations, or permissions to have their commons in their apartments. This latter was found to be a source of expense and dissipation, not more unfriendly to literature than to morals. The common table, it is said, became a source of mismanagement and imposition, which could not easily be remedied.

"The change in the mode of living has been attended with much comfort and satisfaction to all the members of the university, by superseding many strict regulations, and of course rigorous penalties, which, in the former situation, had been thought necessary; neither has it produced any bad effect upon the manners and behaviour of the students. When teachers are attentive to perform their duty, and discover an anxiety to promote the interests of their scholars, who are above the age of mere boys, it requires very little authority to enforce respect and propriety of behaviour. The most certain and effectual mode of discipline, or rather the best method of rendering discipline in a great measure useless, is by

who depend upon them, and who on their parts, are not scrupulous in compounding for the reception of haughty and capricious language by getting as much money as possible out of their careless customers by cajoling and obsequiousness. The result is, that the students league to oppose the townsmen, and the townsmen to oppose the students. The early history of the University of Cambridge is marked by nothing more than by the frequent and violent contests between these two parties;* nor is the disposition to mutual hostility corrected by the present practice of the tutors in settling for their pupils all those tradesmen's accounts, which pupils of such an age should be accustomed to settle for themselves. At Oxford a declaration of war against the town's-people seems to be considered almost equally necessary with the signing of the 39 articles. They are thus denounced in the extracts from the statutes, with which every man is furnished as the guide of his conduct on first entering the University; "*Oppidani, Academicis plerumque*

filling up regularly and properly the time of the student, by interesting him in the objects of his studies and pursuits, and by demanding, regularly and daily, an account of his labours."

Account of University of Glasgow, ubi supra, p. 41, 42. The same volume, which contains this curious and interesting account of the University of Glasgow, presents similar details of the two Colleges, (which are also two *Universities*) at Aberdeen. In 1753, we are informed, (p. 79, 80. 90,) the plan of collegiate residence and of boarding at a common table was enforced upon the students in King's College, but was found to be attended with so many disadvantages as to be almost abandoned after a trial of a few years. In the German universities experience has led to the general disuse of commons. In them, and likewise in the universities of Sweden and of Italy, the students live entirely in private lodgings.

* Dyer's Hist. of the Univ. of Cambridge, v. i. p. 61, 78, 79, &c.

infesti et adversi, privilegia Universitatis oppugnandi nullam non occasionem captant."* The testimony of the "Graduate" formerly quoted is as follows, in reference to both the Universities: "the tailor, the vintner, the horse-dealer, and the whole race of shop-keepers, are all in union against the gownsman. Unlimited credit is given, and expenditure without stint is the fatal consequence.†

It has been the usual policy of the German princes to establish their universities at some distance from their capitals: the only exception was in the bold experiment, as it was reputed, at Berlin. In all the towns, which depend solely or chiefly on the universities, the students are distinguished by rude extravagancies and overbearing tyranny, combining the vices of rustics with those of populous and fashionable cities. The University of Berlin was established upon an opposite principle from all the rest, at the instigation of Wolff, Humboldt, and Müller, and notwithstanding the temporary opposition of the minister, who could not reconcile his ideas of academical tranquillity and purity, with the bustle, the pleasures, and the dissipation of the place. "It was," says the intelligent traveller before cited, "the first experiment of setting down a crowd of wild German academicians in the midst of a large capital; but the consequences have fully justified the sagacity of those who recommended it. The students, instead of being more disorderly, are less unruly than elsewhere. Their love of power cannot fight its way through such a population; they are lost in the crowd, and the out-

* Excerpta e Corp. Stat. Univ. Oxon. tit. xxi. § 15.

† Enquiry into the Studies and Discipline of the two Universities, &c. p. 13.

rageous spirit of domineering dies out for want of food.—There is not in Germany a better behaved or more effective university than Berlin."*

The conduct of the students at Edinburgh and Glasgow, and the terms on which they live with the house-keepers and tradesmen, fully confirm the same view. In these Universities, the office of *Proctor*,† so necessary, so difficult, and so perilous at Oxford and Cambridge, is unknown: if it existed, it would be a sinecure. The owners of lodging-houses, the shop-keepers, and other inhabitants, treat with the students as they would with any other customers. The collegians, on the other hand, being little more than a hundredth part of the entire population, do not attempt to attract notice or to assume importance, but quietly and modestly pursue their studies. The dealers in clothes, books, and butchers' meat, who would sustain no great loss in the amount of their incomes if the Universities were swept away, make no unusual attempts to entrap the students by chicanery. Hence the only disturbances, which have arisen in these cities between the town and the University, have

* Tour in Germany, by John Russell, Esq. v. ii. p. 93.

† Though the office of *Proctor* is here called *necessary*, Dr. Knox's account of the way in which it was discharged in his time at Oxford, throws some doubt upon its real utility. "A man," says he, "might be a drunkard, a debauchee, and a very ignorant person, and yet long continue to escape the proctor's animadversion and penalty; but no virtue or regularity could protect you from his severe censure, if you walked on Christ-Church meadow, or the High-Street, with a band tied too low, or with no band at all, with a pig-tail, or with a green or scarlet coat." *Lib. Education*, v. ii. p. 138. The following observation of the same author may be quoted as showing the inefficacy of sumptuary laws in collegiate discipline: "There were few young men of fortune who did not keep horses in Oxford, *especially after they had been prohibited by statute*." p. 167.

originated in the suspicions of the common people about the use of dead bodies for dissection. Even those students, who live entirely at their own disposal, only going to the college to attend lectures, are at least as free from vice as other young men of the same age. The professors, instead of applying to parliament, as the superintendants of academical education at Oxford and Cambridge have recently done, for additional powers to enforce order and good morals among their pupils, have almost entirely abandoned the use of those powers, which by their charters they already possess. The ease and pleasure, with which they discharge their functions, may in some degree be seen in the following declarations of one of the most experienced among them. "It is idleness, and want of interest in the pursuits in which they are engaged, which most commonly lead to irregularity on the part of the students. Take away these, inspire a love of study, create industrious habits, and you will at once supersede the invidious office of proctor, and render obsolete all penal statutes. Occupy the student's time, and use the means to make him feel the spirit of emulation, respect for his own character, and reverence for his teacher, and you will greatly abridge the labour of discipline, so far as regards regularity and decorum. These are the principles, upon which we endeavour to act in this University; and it is creditable to the character of youth to have it to observe, that they are in most cases found to be completely efficacious." *

* Outlines of Phil. Education, by Prof. Jardine of Glasgow, p. 398.

The remarks of Mr. Campbell upon the *esprit de corps*, and the bad collective character, acquired by young men who are congre-

These observations may suffice to establish and illustrate the statement before advanced, that, *other circumstances remaining the same*, the largest towns and most populous districts are the fittest places for universities. The amount of the population is not the only thing to be considered. Among many crowded places those will be the most eligible, though inferior in the number and density of their population, which are favourable to health; which are adapted to cherish a taste for rural and picturesque scenery, or for beautiful and magnificent works of art; which are already rich in public institutions of a scientific, literary, or benevolent nature; or are distinguished by the intellectual acquirements, the virtuous habits, and the public spirit of their inhabitants.* It is now

gated for education in a small town or a village, appear to be most just and important. See *New Monthly Magazine, for April*, 1825, p. 410.

For a confirmation of these arguments, as far as respects breaches of the peace, we need not go beyond our own metropolis. The students of medicine, law, &c. in London are probably more numerous than all the resident students of Oxford and Cambridge put together. But who ever thought of enacting penal statutes and sumptuary laws, or of appointing proctors and taxors, to regulate their intercourse with the great body of the people? In that countless population, they make their bargains and transact the business of ordinary life on the generally received principles of justice and propriety; or, if they violate those principles, the magistrates and other officers are at hand to repress them equally with all other inhabitants.

* Situ quid salubrius," says Lipsius in describing Louvaine, "vel amœnius? Aer purus et ridens: loca passim vacua et delectantia, prata, agri, vineæ, luci, et rus, ut sic dicam, in ipsâ urbe. Mœnia conscende, et perambula: quæ subjecta facies? cujus frontem animumque non explicet ista mirabilis simul et delectabilis varietas? Hic segetes, poma, uvæ crescunt; hic pecudes balant, aut mugiunt; ibi aves garriunt et cantillant. Jam pedes

unnecessary, it would indeed be presumptuous, to speak of London, since a large body of enlightened and patriotic men have there just set on foot an institution of the kind in question. First of all, *the North of England* claims attention, and next, *the West.* What town or city, in either of these large, opulent, and populous districts, shall first arrive at the honour of containing a NATIONAL UNIVERSITY, will probably depend on the inducements, which may be offered by the promptitude and liberality of their inhabitants.

aut oculos extra mœnia efferunt rivuli, aut flumen Dilia, vago flexu; sunt villæ, aut cœnobia; est superbum illud Prætorium Heverléa; arboreta, aut silvæ intermixtæ; et ubique meræ locorum deliciæ. Nam de hominibus civibusque, quid prædicem? Solem non videre magis ad humanitatem et benignitatem factos." *Lipsii Lovanium*, iii. 1.

What place in the North, or in the West of England, approaches nearest to this inviting description?

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TO

THE VERY REVEREND THE PRINCIPAL,

THE PROFESSORS,

AND THE STUDENTS,

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

I beg leave to inscribe this Discourse to you, in token of my great respect. Although the opinions which it sets forth are the result of mature deliberation, yet, as it was written during the business of the Northern Circuit, it will, I fear, as far as regards the composition, not be deemed very fit to appear before the world. Nevertheless, I have yielded a somewhat reluctant assent to the request of many of your number, who were of opinion that its publication would prove beneficial.

H. BROUGHAM, R.

INAUGURAL DISCOURSE.

It now becomes me to return my very sincere and respectful thanks for the kindness which has placed me in a chair, filled at former times by so many great men, whose names might well make any comparison formidable to a far more worthy successor.

While I desire you to accept this unexaggerated expression of gratitude, I am anxious to address you rather in the form which I now adopt, than in the more usual one of an unpremeditated discourse. I shall thus at least prove that the remarks, which I deem it my duty to make, are the fruit of mature reflection, and that I am unwilling to discharge an important office in a perfunctory manner.

I feel very sensibly, that if I shall now urge you by general exhortations, to be instant in the pursuit of the learning, which, in all its branches, flourishes under the kindly shelter of these roofs, I may weary you with the unprofitable repetition of a thrice told tale; and if I presume to offer my advice touching the conduct of your studies, I may seem to trespass upon the province of those venerable persons, under whose care you have the singular happiness to be placed. But I would nevertheless expose myself to either charge, for the sake of joining my voice with theirs, in anxiously intreating you to believe how incomparably the present season is verily and indeed the most precious of your whole lives. It is not the less true, because it has been oftentimes said, that the period of youth is by far the best fitted for the improvement of the mind, and the retirement of a college almost exclusively adapted to much study. At your enviable age, every thing has the lively interest of novelty and freshness; attention is perpetually sharpened by curiosity; and the memory is tenacious of the deep

impressions it thus receives, to a degree unknown in after life; while the distracting cares of the world, or its beguiling pleasures, cross not the threshold of these calm retreats; its distant noise and bustle are faintly heard, making the shelter you enjoy more grateful; and the struggles of anxious mortals embarked upon that troublous sea, are viewed from an eminence, the security of which is rendered more sweet by the prospect of the scene below. Yet a little while, and you too will be plunged into those waters of bitterness; and will cast an eye of regret, as now I do, upon the peaceful regions you have quitted for ever. Such is your lot as members of society; but it will be your own fault if you look back on this place with repentance or with shame; and be well assured that, whatever time —ay, every hour—you squander here on unprofitable idling, will then rise up against you, and be paid for by years of bitter but unavailing regrets. Study then, I beseech you, so to store your minds with the exquisite learning of former ages, that you may always possess within your-

selves sources of rational and refined enjoyment, which will enable you to set at nought the grosser pleasures of sense, whereof other men are slaves; and so imbue yourselves with the sound philosophy of later days, forming yourselves to the virtuous habits which are its legitimate offspring, that you may walk unhurt through the trials which await you, and may look down upon the ignorance and error that surround you, not with lofty and supercilious contempt, as the sages of old times, but with the vehement desire of enlightening those who wander in darkness, and who are by so much the more endeared to us by how much they want our assistance.

Assuming the improvement of his own mind and of the lot of his fellow-creatures to be the great end of every man's existence, who is removed above the care of providing for his sustenance, and to be the indispensable duty of every man, as far as his own immediate wants leave him any portion of time unemployed, our attention is naturally directed to the means by which so great

and urgent a work may best be performed; and as in the limited time allotted to this discourse, I cannot hope to occupy more than a small portion of so wide a field, I shall confine myself to two subjects, or rather to a few observations upon two subjects, both of them appropriate to this place, but either of them affording ample materials for an entire course of Lectures—the Study of the Rhetorical Art, by which useful truths are promulgated with effect, and the Purposes to which a Proficiency in this art should be made subservient.

It is an extremely common error among young persons, impatient of academical discipline, to turn from the painful study of ancient, and particularly of Attic composition, and solace themselves with works rendered easy by the familiarity of their own tongue. They plausibly contend, that as powerful or captivating diction in a pure English style is, after all, the attainment they are in search of, the study of the best English models affords the shortest road to this point;

and even admitting the ancient examples to have been the great fountains from which all eloquence is drawn, they would rather profit, as it were, by the classical labours of their English predecessors, than toil over the same path themselves. In a word, they would treat the perishable results of those labours as the standard, and give themselves no care about the immortal originals. This argument, the thin covering which indolence weaves for herself, would speedily sink all the fine arts into barrenness and insignificance. Why, according to such reasoners, should a sculptor or painter encounter the toil of a journey to Athens or to Rome? Far better work at home, and profit by the labour of those who have resorted to the Vatican and the Parthenon, and founded an English school, adapted to the taste of our own country. Be you assured that the works of the English chisel fall not more short of the wonders of the Acropolis than the best productions of modern pens fall short of the chaste, finished, nervous, and overwhelming compositions of them that "resistless ful-

mined over Greece." Be equally sure that, with hardly any exception, the great things of poetry and of eloquence have been done by men who cultivated the mighty exemplars of Athenian genius with daily and with nightly devotion. Among poets there is hardly an exception to this rule, unless may be so deemed Shakspeare, an exception to all rules, and Dante, familiar as a contemporary with the works of Roman art, composed in his mother tongue, having taken, not so much for his guide as for his "master," Virgil, himself almost a translator from the Greeks. But among orators I know of none among the Romans, and scarce any in our own times. Cicero honoured the Greek masters with such singular observance, that he not only repaired to Athens for the sake of finishing his rhetorical education, but afterwards continued to practise the art of declaiming in Greek; and although he afterward fell into a less pure manner through the corrupt blandishments of the Asian taste, yet do we find him ever prone to extol the noble perfections of his first masters, as something

placed beyond the reach of all imitation. Nay, at a mature period of his life, he occupied himself in translating the greater orations of the Greeks, which composed almost exclusively his treatise, "*De optimo genere oratoris;*" as if to write a discourse on oratorical perfection, were merely to present the reader with the two immortal speeches upon the Crown. Sometimes we find him imitating, even to a literal version, the beauties of those divine originals,—as the beautiful passage of Æschines, in the Timarchus, upon the torments of the guilty, which the Roman orator has twice made use of, almost word for word; once in the oration for Sextus Roscius, the earliest he delivered, and again in a more mature effort of his genius, the oration against L. Piso.*

* Μὴ γὰρ οἴεσθε, τὰς τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἀρχὰς ἀπὸ θεῶν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ἀσελγείας γίνεσθαι· μηδὲ τοὺς ἠσεβηκότας, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς τραγῳδίαις, Ποινὰς ἐλαύνειν καὶ κολάζειν δᾳδὶ ἡμμέναις· ἀλλ' αἱ προπετεῖς τοῦ σώματος ἡδοναὶ καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἱκανὸν ἡγεῖσθαι· ταῦτα πληροῖ τὰ λῃστήρια — ταῦτ' εἰς τὸν ἱπαπτροκίλητα ἐμβιβάζει· ταῦτά ἐστιν ἑκάστῳ Ποινή· — ταῦτα παρακελεύεται τοῖς νέοις, κ. τ. λ.—Αἰσχίν. κατὰ Τιμάρχου.

Nolite enim putare quemadmodum in fabulis sæpenumero videatis

I have dwelt the rather upon the authority of M. Tullius, because it enables us at once to answer the question, Whether a study of the Roman orators be not sufficient for refining the taste? If the Greeks were the models of an excellence which the first of Roman orators never attained, although ever aspiring after it—nay, if so far from being satisfied with his own success, he even in those his masters found something which his ears desiderated—(ita avidæ et capaces ut

eos qui aliquid impie scelesteque commiserint, agitari et perterreri Furiarum tædis ardentibus. Sua quemque fraus et suus terror maximè vexat; suum quemque scelus agitat amentiâque afficit; suæ malæ cogitationes conscientiæque animi terrent. Hæ sunt impiis assiduæ domesticæque Furiæ; quæ dies noctesque parentum pœnas à conscleratissimis filiis repetant.—(*Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino.*)

Nolite enim putare, ut in scenâ videtis, homines conscleratos impulsu deorum terreri Furiarum tædis ardentibus. Sua quemque fraus — suum facinus — suum scelus — sua audacia, de sanitate ac mente deturbat. Hæ sunt impiorum Furiæ — hæ flammæ — hæ faces.—(*In Luc. Calp. Pisonem.*)

The great improvement in Cicero's taste between the first and the second of these compositions is manifest, and his closer adherence to the original. He introduces the same idea, and in very similar language, in the Treatise *De Legg. Lib.* 1.

semper aliquid immensum infinitumque desiderent. Orator. 29.)—he either fell short while copying them, or he failed by diverting his worship to the false gods of the Asian school. In the one case, were we to rest satisfied with studying the Roman, we should only be imitating the imperfect copy, instead of the pure original—like him who should endeavour to catch a glimpse of some beauty by her reflection in a glass, that weakened her tints, if it did not distort her features. In the other case, we should not be imitating the same, but some less perfect original, and looking at the wrong beauty ;—not her whose chaste and simple attractions commanded the adoration of all Greece, but some garish damsel from Rhodes or Chios, just brilliant and languishing enough to captivate the less pure taste of half civilized Rome.

But there are other reasons too weighty to be passed over, which justify the same decided preference. Not to mention the incomparable beauty and power of the Greek language, the

study of which alone affords the means of enriching our own, the compositions of Cicero, exquisite as they are for beauty of diction, often remarkable for ingenious argument and brilliant wit, not seldom excelling in deep pathos, are nevertheless so extremely rhetorical, fashioned by an art so little concealed, and sacrificing the subject to a display of the speaker's powers, admirable as those are, that nothing can be less adapted to the genius of modern elocution, which requires a constant and almost exclusive attention to the business in hand. In all his orations which were spoken (for, singular as it may seem, the remark applies less to those which were only written, as all the Verrine, except the first, all the Philippics, except the first and ninth, and the Pro Milone,) hardly two pages can be found which a modern assembly would bear. Some admirable arguments on evidence, and the credit of witnesses, might be urged to a jury;* several passages, given by him on the me-

* There is a singular example of this in the remarks on the evidence and cross-examination in the oration for L. Flaccus, pointed

rits of the case, and in defence against the charge, might be spoken in mitigation of punishment after a conviction or confession of guilt; but whether we regard the political or forensic orations, the style, both in respect of the reasoning and the ornaments, is wholly unfit for the more severe and less trifling nature of modern affairs in the senate or at the bar. Now, it is altogether otherwise with the Greek masters: Changing a few phrases, which the difference of religion and of manners might render objectionable,—moderating, in some degree, the virulence of invective, especially against private character, to suit the chivalrous courtesy of modern hostility,—there is hardly one of the political or forensic orations of the Greeks that might not be delivered in simi-

out to me by my friend Mr. Scarlett, the mention of whose name affords an illustration of my argument, for, as a more consummate master of the forensic art in all its branches never lived, so no man is more conversant with the works of his predecessors in ancient times. Lord Erskine, too, perhaps the first of judicial orators, ancient or modern, had well studied the noble remains of the classic age.

lar circumstances before our senate or tribunals; while their funeral and other panegyrical discourses are much less inflated and unsubstantial than those of the most approved masters of the Epideictic style, the French preachers and Academicians. Whence this difference between the masterpieces of Greek and Roman eloquence? Whence but from the rigid steadiness with which the Greek orator keeps the object of all eloquence perpetually in view, never speaking for mere speaking's sake;—while the Latin rhetorician, *ingenii sui nimium amator*, and, as though he deemed his occupation a trial of skill, or display of accomplishments, seems ever and anon to lose sight of the subject matter in the attempt to illustrate and adorn it; and pours forth passages sweet indeed, but unprofitable—fitted to tickle the ear, without reaching the heart. Where in all the orations of Cicero, or of him who almost equals him, Livy, miræ facundiæ homo, (Quinct.) shall we find any thing like those thick successions of short questions, in which Demosthenes oftentimes forges, as it were, with a

few rapidly following strokes, the whole massive chain of his argument;—as, in the Chersonese, *Εἰ δ' ἅπαξ διαφθαρήσεται καὶ διαλυθήσεται, τί ποιήσομεν, ἂν ἐπὶ Χερρόνησον ἴῃ; κρινοῦμεν Διοπείθην; νὴ Δία. Καὶ τί τὰ πράγματα ἔσται βελτίω; ἀλλ' ἐνθένδε βοηθήσομεν αὐτοῖς; ἂν δ' ὑπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων μὴ δυνώμεθα; ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί' οὐχ ἥξει. καὶ τίς ἐγγυητής ἐστι τούτου;*— or, comprising all of a long narrative that suits his argument in a single sentence, presenting a lengthened series of events at a single glance,—as in the *Παραπρεσβεία*:—*Πέντε γὰρ γεγόνασιν ἡμέραι μόναι, ἐν αἷς — οὗτος ἀπήγγειλε τὰ ψευδῆ — ὑμεῖς ἐπιστεύσατε, — οἱ Φωκεῖς ἐπύθοντο — ἐνέδωκαν ἑαυτοὺς — ἀπώλοντο.*

But though the more business-like manner of modern debate approaches much nearer the style of the Greek than the Latin compositions, it must be admitted that it falls short of the great originals in the closeness, and, as it were, density of the argument; in the habitual sacrifice of all ornament to use, or rather in the constant union of the two; so that, while a modern orator too frequent-

ly has his speech parcelled out in compartments, one devoted to argument, another to declamation, a third to mere ornament, as if he should say, Now your reason shall be convinced; now I am going to rouse your passions; and now you shall see how I can amuse your fancy—the more vigorous ancient argued in declaiming, and made his very boldest figures subservient to, or rather an integral part of his reasoning. The most figurative and highly wrought passage in all antiquity is the famous oath in Demosthenes, yet, in the most pathetic part of it, and when he seems to have left the furthest behind him the immediate subject of his speech, led away by the prodigious interest of the recollections he has excited; when he is naming the very tombs where the heroes of Marathon lie buried, he instantly, not abruptly, but by a most felicitous and easy transition, returns into the midst of the main argument of his whole defence—that the merits of public servants, not the success of their councils, should be the measure of the public gratitude towards them—a position that runs through the whole speech,

and to which he makes the funeral honours bestowed alike on all the heroes, serve as a striking and appropriate support. With the same ease does Virgil manage his celebrated transition in the Georgics; where, in the midst of the Thracian war, and while at an immeasurable distance from agricultural topics, the magician strikes the ground on the field of battle, where helmets are buried, and suddenly raises before us the lonely husbandman, in a remote age, peacefully tilling its soil, and driving his plough among the rusty armour and mouldering remains of the warrior.*

But if a further reason is required for giving the preference to the Greek orators, we may find it in the greater diversity and importance of the subjects upon which their speeches were delivered. Beside the number of admirable orations and of written arguments upon causes merely forensic, we have every subject of public policy, all the great affairs of state successively

* Georg. I. 493.

forming the topics of discussion. Compare them with Cicero in this particular, and the contrast is striking. His finest oration for matter and diction together is in defence of an individual charged with murder, and there is nothing in the case to give it a public interest, except that the parties were of opposite factions in the state, and the deceased a personal as well as political adversary of the speaker. His most exquisite performance in point of diction, perhaps the most perfect prose composition in the language, was addressed to one man, in palliation of another's having borne arms against him in a war with a personal rival. Even the Catilinarians, his most splendid declamations, are principally denunciations of a single conspirator; the Philippics, his most brilliant invectives, abuse of a profligate leader; and the Verrine orations, charges against an individual governor. Many, indeed almost ll the subjects of his speeches, rise to the rank of what the French term *Causes celebres*; but they seldom rise higher.* Of Demosthenes,

* The cause of this difference between the Greek and Roman

on the other hand, we have not only many arguments upon cases strictly private, and relating

Orators has been so strikingly described by a learned friend of mine, in the following note upon the above passage, that the celebrity of his name, were I at liberty to mention it, is not required to attract the reader's notice. "In Athens," says he, "an incessant struggle for independence, for power, or for liberty, could not fail to rouse the genius of every citizen—to force the highest talent to the highest station—to animate her councils with a holy zeal—and to afford to her orators all that, according to the profoundest writers of antiquity, is necessary to the sublimest strains of eloquence. "Magna eloquentia sicut flamma materia alitur, a motibus excitatur, urendo clarescit." Hers were not the holiday contests of men who sought to dazzle by the splendour of their diction, the grace of their delivery, the propriety and richness of their imagery. Her debates were on the most serious business which can agitate men—the preservation of national liberty, honour, independence, and glory. The gifts of genius and the perfection of art shed, indeed, a lustre upon the most vigorous exertions of her orators—but the object of their thunders was to stir the energies of the men of Athens, and to make tyrants tremble, or rivals despair. Rome, on the other hand, mistress of the world, at the time when she was most distinguished by genius and eloquence, owned no superior, hated no rival, dreaded no equal. Nations sought her protection, kings bowed before her majesty, the bosom of her sole dominion was disturbed by no struggle for national power, no alarm of foreign danger. While she maintained the authority of her laws

to pecuniary matters, (those generally called the Ἰδιωτικοὶ) and many upon interesting subjects,

over the civilized earth, and embraced under the flattering name of allies those who could no longer resist her arms, the revolt of a barbarian king, or the contests of bordering nations with each other, prolonged only till she had decided between them, served to amuse her citizens or her senate, without affecting their tranquillity. Her government, though essentially free, was not so popular as the Athenian. The severity of her discipline, and the gravity of her manners disposed her citizens less to those sudden and powerful emotions which both excited and followed the efforts of the Greek orators. It seems, therefore, reasonable to conclude, that the character of Roman eloquence would be distinguished more by art than by passion, by science than by nature. The divisions and animosities of party, no doubt, would operate, and did operate with their accustomed force. But these are not like the generous flame which animates a whole nation to defend its liberty or its honour. The discussion of a law upon which the national safety could not depend, the question whether this or that general should take the command of an army, whether this or that province should be allotted to a particular minister, whether the petition of a city to be admitted to the privileges of Roman citizens should be granted, or whether some concession should be made to a suppliant king;—these, with the exception of the debates on the Catiline conspiracy, and one or two of the Philippics, form the subjects of a public nature, on which the mighty genius and consummate art of Cicero were bestowed. We are not, therefore, surprised to find that those of his orations, in which he bears the best comparison with his rival De-

more nearly approaching public questions, as, the speech against Midias, which relates to an assault on the speaker, but excels in spirit and vehemence perhaps all his other efforts; and some which, though personal, involve high considerations of public policy, as that most beautiful and energetic speech against Aristocrates; but we have all his immortal orations upon the state affairs of Greece—the Περὶ Στεφάνου, embracing the history of a twenty years' administration during the most critical period of Grecian story; and the Philippics, discussing every question of foreign policy, and of the stand to be made by the civilized world against the encroachments of the barbarians. Those speeches were delivered upon subjects the most important and affecting that could be conceived to the whole communi-

mosthenes, were delivered in the forum in private causes. In some of these may be found examples of perhaps the very highest perfection to which the art can be carried, of clear, acute, convincing argument, of strong natural feeling, and of sudden bursts of passion; always, however, restrained by the predominating influence of a highly cultivated art—an art little concealed."

ty; the topics handled in them were of universal application and of perpetual interest. To introduce a general observation the Latin orator must quit the immediate course of his argument; he must for the moment lose sight of the object in view. But the Athenian can hardly hold too lofty a tone, or carry his view too extensively over the map of human affairs, for the vast range of his subject—the fates of the whole commonwealth of Greece, and the stand to be made by free and polished nations against barbaric tyrants.

After forming and chastening the taste by a diligent study of those perfect models, it is necessary to acquire correct habits of composition in our own language, first by studying the best writers, and next by translating copiously into it from the Greek. This is by far the best exercise that I am acquainted with for at once attaining a pure English diction, and avoiding the tameness and regularity of modern composition. But the English writers who really unlock the rich sources of the language, are those who

flourished from the end of Elizabeth's to the end of Queen Anne's reign; who used a good Saxon dialect with ease, but correctness and perspicuity,—learned in the ancient classics, but only enriching their mother tongue where the Attic could supply its defects,—not overlaying it with a profuse pedantic coinage of foreign words,—well practised in the old rules of composition or rather collocation (σύνθεσις) which unite natural ease and variety with absolute harmony, and give the author's ideas to develope themselves with the more truth and simplicity when clothed in the ample folds of inversion, or run from the exuberant to the elliptical without ever being either redundant or obscure. Those great wits had no foreknowledge of such times as succeeded their brilliant age, when styles should arise, and for a season, prevail over both purity, and nature, and antique recollections—now meretriciously ornamented, more than half French in the phrase, and to mere figures fantastically sacrificing the sense—now heavily and regularly fashioned as if by the plumb and rule,

and by the eye rather than the ear, with a needless profusion of ancient words and flexions, to displace those of our own Saxon, instead of temperately supplying its defects. Least of all could those lights of English eloquence have imagined that men should appear amongst us professing to teach composition, and ignorant of the whole of its rules, and incapable of relishing the beauties, or indeed apprehending the very genius of the language, should treat its peculiar terms of expression and flexion, as so many inaccuracies, and practise their pupils in correcting the faulty English of Addison, and training down to the mechanical rhythm of Johnson the lively and inimitable measures of Bolingbroke.

But in exhorting you deeply to meditate on the beauties of our old English authors, the poets, the moralists, and perhaps more than all these the preachers of the Augustan age of English letters, do not imagine that I would pass over their great defects when compared with the renowned standards of severe taste in ancient

times. Addison may have been pure and elegant; Dryden airy and nervous; Taylor witty and fanciful; Hooker weighty and various; but none of them united force with beauty—the perfection of matter with the most refined and chastened style; and to one charge all, even the most faultless, are exposed—the offence unknown in ancient times, but the besetting sin of later days—they always overdid—never knowing or feeling when they had done enough. In nothing, not even in beauty of collocation and harmony of rhythm, is the vast superiority of the chaste, vigorous, manly style of the Greek orators and writers more conspicuous than in the abstinent use of their prodigious faculties of expression. A single phrase—sometimes a word—and the work is done—the desired impression is made, as it were, with one stroke, there being nothing superfluous interposed to weaken the blow, or break its fall. The commanding idea is singled out; it is made to stand forward; all auxiliaries are rejected; as the Emperor Napoleon selected one point in the heart of his ad-

versary's strength, and brought all his power to bear upon that, careless of the other points which he was sure to carry if he won the centre, as sure to have carried in vain if he left the centre unsubdued. Far otherwise do modern writers make their onset; they resemble rather those campaigners who fit out twenty little expeditions at a time, to be a laughing stock if they fail, and useless if they succeed; or if they do attack in the right place, so divide their forces, from the dread of leaving any one point unassailed, that they can make no sensible impression where alone it avails them to be felt. It seems the principle of such authors never to leave any thing unsaid that can be said on any one topic; to run down every idea they start; to let nothing pass; and leave nothing to the reader, but harass him with anticipating every thing that could possibly strike his mind. Compare with this effeminate laxity of speech, the manly severity of ancient eloquence; or of him who approached it, by the happy union of natural genius with learned meditation; or of him

who so marvellously approached still nearer with only the familiar knowledge of its least perfect ensamples. Mark, I do beseech you, the severe simplicity, the subdued tone of the diction, in the most touching parts of the "old man Eloquent's" loftiest passages. In the oath, when he comes to the burial place where they repose by whom he is swearing, if ever a grand epithet were allowable, it is here—yet the only one he applies is *ἀγαθοὺς — μὰ τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεύσαντας τῶν προγόνων — καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς παραταξαμένους — καὶ τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχήσαντας — καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέρους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις μνήμασι κειμένους* ΑΓΑΘΟΥΣ *ἄνδρας.* When he would compare the effects of the Theban treaty in dispelling the dangers that compassed the state round about, to the swift passing away of a stormy cloud, he satisfies himself with two words, *ὥσπερ νέφος*—the theme of just admiration to succeeding ages; and when he would paint the sudden approach of overwhelming peril to beset the state, he does it by a stroke the picturesque effect of which has not perhaps

been enough noted—likening it to a whirlwind or a winter torrent, ὥσπερ σκηπτὸς ἢ χειμάῤῥους. It is worthy of remark, that in by far the first of all Mr. Burke's orations, the passage which is, I believe, universally allowed to be the most striking, owes its effect to a figure twice introduced in close resemblance to these two great expressions, although certainly not in imitation of either; for the original is to be found in Livy's description of Fabius's appearance to Hannibal. Hyder's vengeance is likened to "a "black cloud, that hung for a while on the de- "clivities of the mountains," and the people who suffered under its devastations, are described as "enveloped in a whirlwind of cavalry." Whoever reads the whole passage, will, I think, admit that the effect is almost entirely produced by those two strokes; that the amplifications which accompany them, as the "blackening of the ho- "rizon"—the "menacing meteor"—the "storm "of unusual fire," rather disarm than augment the terrors of the original *black cloud;* and that the "goading spears of the drivers," and "the

" trampling of pursuing horses," somewhat abate the fury of the *whirlwind of cavalry*.—Δουλεύουσί γε μαστιγούμενοι καὶ στρεβλούμενοι, says the Grecian master, to describe the wretched lot of those who had yielded to the wiles of the conqueror, in the vain hope of securing their liberties in safety. Compare this with the choicest of Mr. Burke's invectives of derision and pity upon the same subject—the sufferings of those who made peace with Regicide France—and acknowledge the mighty effect of relying upon a single stroke to produce a great effect—if you have the master hand to give it. " The king of Prussia has hypothecated " in trust to the Regicides his rich and fertile " territories on the Rhine, as a pledge of his zeal " and affection to the cause of liberty and equa- " lity. He has been robbed with unbounded li- " berty and with the most levelling equality. The " woods are wasted; the country is ravaged; " property is confiscated; and the people are " put to bear a double yoke, in the exactions of " a tyrannical government, and in the contribu- " tions of a hostile conscription." " The grand

" duke of Tuscany, for his early sincerity, for " his love of peace, and for his entire confidence " in the amity of the assassins of his family, has " been complimented with the name of the " '*wisest sovereign in Europe.*' This pacific " Solomon, or his philosophic cudgelled minis- " try, cudgelled by English and by French, " whose wisdom and philosophy between them " have placed Leghorn in the hands of the ene- " my of the Austri[redacted] family, and driven the " only profitable commerce of Tuscany from its " only port."—Turn now for refreshment to the Athenian artist—Καλήν γ' οἱ πολλοὶ νῦν ἀπειλήφασιν Ὠρειτῶν χάριν, ὅτι τοῖς Φιλίππου φίλοις ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτούς, τὸν δ' Εὐφραῖον ἐώθουν· καλὴν γ' ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἐρετριέων, ὅτι τοὺς ὑμετέρους μὲν πρέσβεις ἀπήλασε, Κλειτάρχῳ δ' ἐνέδωκεν αὐτόν· δουλεύουσί γε μαστιγούμενοι καὶ στρεβλούμενοι. Phil. 3.—Upon some very rare occasions indeed, the orator, not content with a single blow, pours himself all forth in a full torrent of invective, and then we recognise the man who was said of old to eat shields and steel—ἀσπίδας καὶ σίδηρον φαγών. But still the

effect is produced without repetition or diffuseness. I am not aware of any such expanded passage as the invective in the Περὶ Στεφάνου against those who had betrayed the various states of Greece to Philip. It is indeed a noble passage; one of the most brilliant, perhaps the most highly coloured, of any in Demosthenes; but it is as condensed and rapid as it is rich and varied.—*Ἄνθρωποι μιαροὶ καὶ κόλακες καὶ ἀλάστορες, ἠκρωτηριασμένοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι [illegible]ας, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν προπεπωκότες πρότερον μέν Φιλίππῳ, νῦν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ — τῇ γαστρὶ μετροῦντες καὶ τοῖς αἰσχίστοις τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν — τὴν δ' ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ μηδένα ἔχειν δεσπότην αὐτῶν, (ἃ τοῖς προτέροις Ἕλλησιν ὅροι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἦσαν καὶ κανόνες) ἀνατετροφότες**.—This requires no contrast to make its merit shine forth; but compare it with

* The object of chief abhorrence to the old Greeks is remarkably expressed in this passage—*δισπότης* is the correlative of *δοῦλος*—and the meaning of *δισπότην ἔχειν αὐτῶν* is, "having an owner or proprietor of themselves," that is, "being the property, the chattels of any one,"—and this they justly deemed the last of human miseries. The addition of the cart-whip, and a tropical climate, would not probably have been esteemed an alleviation of the lot of slavery.

any of Cicero's invectives—that, for instance, in the third Catilinarian, against the conspirators, where he attacks them regularly under six different heads, and in above twenty times as many words; and ends with the known and very moderate jest of their commander keeping "Scortorɪən cohortem Prætoriam."

The great poet of mod[illegible]

* This great poet abounds in such [illegible] to give only a few examples. The flight of doves:

Con l' ali aperte e ferme al dolce nido
Volan per l'äer, dal voler portate.—(Inf. v.)

The gnawing of a skull by a mortal enemy:

Co' denti
Che furo all' osso, come d'un can, forti.—(Inf. xxxiii.)

The venality and simoniacal practices of the Romish church:

Là dove Cristo tutto dì si merca.—(Parad. xvii.)

The perfidy of a Bourbon:

Senz' arme n'esce, e solo con la lancia.
Con la qual giostrò Giuda.—(Purg. xx.)

The pains of dependance:

Tu proverai sì come sa di sale
Lo pane altrui, e com' è duro calle
Lo scendere e'l salir per l' altrui scale.—(Parad. xvii.)

proached nearest to the ancients in the quality of which I have been speaking. In his finest passages you rarely find an epithet; hardly ever more than one; and never two eff[illegible] idea. "*A guisa di Leon quando si posa,*" [illegible] single trait by which he com[illegible] personage to th[illegible] m down. [illegible] e verse [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] idea, adding this line, "*Giva[illegible] movendo il passo.*" A better illu[illegible] easily be found of the differenc[illegible] cient and the modern style. [illegible] ed by a later imitator of the same great master.—

I know no passage of the *Divina Commedia*, more excursive than the description of evening in the Purgatorio; yet the poet is content with somewhat enlarging on a single thought—the tender recollections which that hour of meditation gives the traveller, at the fall of the first night he is to pass away from home, when he hears the distant knell of the expiring day. Gray adopts the

idea of the knell in nearly the words of the original, and adds eight other circumstances to it, presenting a kind of ground plan, or at least a catalogue, an accurate enumeration (like a natural historian's,) of every one particular belonging to night-fall, so as wholly to exhaust the subject, and leave nothing to the imagination of the reader. Dante's six verses, too, have but one epithet, *dolci*, applied to *amici*. Gray has thirteen or fourteen; some of them mere repetitions of the same idea which the verb or the substantive conveys—as *drowsy* tinkling *lulls*,—the *moping* owl *complains*,—the ploughman *plods* his *weary* way. Surely when we contrast the simple and commanding majesty of the ancient writers, with the superabundance and diffusion of the exhaustive method, we may be tempted to feel that there lurks some alloy of bitterness in the excess of sweets. This was so fully recognized by the wise ancients, that it became a proverb among them, as we learn from an epigram still preserved,

Εἰς τὴν μετριότητα.

Πᾶν τὸ περιττὸν ἄκαιρον, ἐπεὶ λόγος ἐστὶ παλαιὸς,
Ὡς καὶ τοῦ μέλιτος, τὸ πλέον ἐστὶ χολή.

In forming the taste by much contemplation of those antique models, and acquiring the habits of easy and chaste composition, it must not be imagined that all the labour of the orator is ended, or that he may then dauntless and fluent enter upon his office in the public assembly. Much preparation is still required before each exertion, if rhetorical excellence is aimed at. I should lay it down as a rule, admitting of no exception, that a man will speak well in proportion as he has written much; and that with equal talents, he will be the finest extemporare speaker, when no time for preparing is allowed, who has prepared himself the most sedulously when he had an opportunity of delivering a premeditated speech. All the exceptions which I have ever heard cited to this principle, are apparent ones only; proving nothing more than that some few men, of rare genius, have become great speakers

without preparation; in nowise showing, that with preparation they would not have reached a much higher pitch of excellence. The admitted superiority of the ancients in all oratorical accomplishments, is the best proof of my position; for their careful preparation is undeniable; nay, in Demosthenes (of whom Quinctilian says, that his style indicates more premeditation—*plus curæ*—than Cicero's,) we can trace, by the recurrence of the same passage, with progressive improvements in different speeches, how nicely he polished the more exquisite parts of his compositions. I could point out favourite passages, occurring as often as three several times with variations, and manifest amendment.

I am now requiring, not merely great preparation while the speaker is learning his art, but after he has accomplished his education. The most splendid effort of the most mature orator will be always finer for being previously elaborated with much care. There is, no doubt, a charm in extemporaneous elocution, derived from the

appearance of artless unpremeditated effusion, called forth by the occasion, and so adapting itself to its exigences, which may compensate the manifold defects incident to this kind of composition: that which is inspired by the unforeseen circumstances of the moment, will be of necessity suited to those circumstances in the choice of the topics, and pitched in the tone of the execution to the feelings upon which it is to operate. These are great virtues: it is another to avoid the besetting vice of modern oratory—the overdoing every thing—the exhaustive method—which an offhand speaker has no time to fall into, and he accordingly will take only the grand and effective view: nevertheless, in oratorical merit, such effusions must needs be very inferior; much of the pleasure they produce depends upon the hearer's surprise, that in such circumstances any thing can be delivered at all, rather than upon his deliberate judgment, that he has heard any thing very excellent in itself. We may rest assured that the highest reaches of the art, and without any necessary sacrifice of natural effect, can only

be attained by him who well considers, and maturely prepares, and often-times sedulously corrects and refines his oration. Such preparation is quite consistent with the introduction of passages prompted by the occasion; nor will the transition from the one to the other be perceptible in the execution of a practised master. I have known attentive and skilful hearers completely deceived in this matter, and taking for extemporaneous, passages which previously existed in manuscript, and were pronounced without the variation of a particle or a pause. Thus, too, we are told by Cicero in one of his epistles, that having to make, in Pompey's presence, a speech after Crassus had very unexpectedly taken a particular line of argument, he exerted himself, and it appears successfully, in a marvellous manner, mightily assisted, in what he said extempore, by his habit of rhetorical preparation, and introducing skilfully, as the inspiration of the moment, all his favourite common places, with some of which, as we gather from a good humoured joke at his own expense, Crassus had interfered: "Ego autem ip-

se, Di Boni! quomodo ἐνεπερπερευσάμην novo auditori Pompeio! Si unquam mihi περίοδοι, si καμπαὶ, si ἐνθυμήματα, si κατασκευαὶ, suppeditaverunt, illo tempore. Quid multa? clamores.—Etenim hæc erat ὑπόθεσις, de gravitate ordinis, de equestri concordia, de consensione Italiæ, de immortuis reliquiis conjurationis, de vilitate, de otio—nôsti jam in hâc materiâ sonitus nostros; tanti fuerunt ut ego eo brevior sim, quod eos usque isthinc exauditos putem." (Ad Att. I. 14.)

If, from contemplating the means of acquiring eloquence, we turn to the noble purposes to which it may be made subservient, we at once perceive its prodigious importance to the best interests of mankind. The greatest masters of the art have concurred, and upon the greatest occasion of its display, in pronouncing that its estimation depends on the virtuous and rational use made of it. Let their sentiments be engraved on your memory in their own pure and appropriate diction. Καλὸν (says Æschines) τὴν μὲν διάνοιαν προαιρεῖσθαι τὰ βέλτιστα, τὴν δὲ παιδείαν

τὴν τοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ τὸν λόγον πείθειν τοὺς ἀκούοντας — εἰ δὲ μὴ, τὴν εὐγνωμοσύνην αἰεὶ προτακτέον τοῦ λόγου — (Κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος). Ἔστι (says his illustrious antagonist) δ' οὐχ ὁ λόγος τοῦ ῥήτορος τίμιος, οὐδ' ὁ τόνος τῆς φωνῆς, ἀλλὰ τὸ ταὐτὰ προαιρεῖσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς — (Ὑπὲρ Κτησ.)

It is but reciting the ordinary praises of the art of persuasion, to remind you how sacred truths may be most ardently promulgated at the altar—the cause of oppressed innocence be most powerfully defended—the march of wicked rulers be most triumphantly resisted—defiance the most terrible be hurled at the oppressor's head. In great convulsions of public affairs, or in bringing about salutary changes, every one confesses how important an ally eloquence must be. But in peaceful times, when the progress of events is slow and even as the silent and unheeded pace of time, and the jars of a mighty tumult in foreign and domestic concerns can no longer be heard, then too she flourishes,—protectress of liberty,—patroness of improvement,

—guardian of all the blessings that can be showered upon the mass of human kind; nor is her form ever seen but on ground consecrated to free institutions. "Pacis comes, otiique socia, et jam bene constitutæ reipublicæ alumna eloquentia." To me, calmly revolving these things, such pursuits seem far more noble objects of ambition than any upon which the vulgar herd of busy men lavish prodigal their restless exertions. To diffuse useful information,—to further intellectual refinement, sure forerunner of moral improvement,—to hasten the coming of that bright day when the dawn of general knowledge shall chase away the lazy, lingering mists, even from the base of the great social pyramid;—this indeed is a high calling, in which the most splendid talents and consummate virtue may well press onward, eager to bear a part. I know that I speak in a place consecrated by the pious wisdom of ancient times to the instruction of but a select portion of the community. Yet from this classic ground have gone forth those whose genius, not their ancestry, ennobled

them; whose incredible merits have opened to all ranks the temple of science; whose illustrious example has made the humblest emulous to climb steeps no longer inaccessible, and enter the unfolded gates, burning in the sun. I speak in that city where Black having once taught, and Watt learned, the grand experiment was afterwards made in our day, and with entire success, to demonstrate that the highest intellectual cultivation is perfectly compatible with the daily cares and toils of working men; to show by thousands of living examples that a keen relish for the most sublime truths of science belongs alike to every class of mankind.

To promote this, of all objects the most important, men of talents and of influence I rejoice to behold pressing forward in every part of the empire; but I wait with impatient anxiety to see the same course pursued by men of high station in society, and by men of rank in the world of letters. It should seem as if these felt some little lurking jealousy, and those were

somewhat scared by feelings of alarm—the one and the other surely alike groundless. No man of science needs fear to see the day when scientific excellence shall be too vulgar a commodity to bear a high price. The more widely knowledge is spread, the more will they be prized whose happy lot it is to extend its bounds by discovering new truths, or multiply its uses by inventing new modes of applying it in practice. Their numbers will indeed be increased, and among them more Watts and more Franklins will be enrolled among the lights of the world, in proportion as more thousands of the working classes, to which Franklin and Watt belonged, have their thoughts turned towards philosophy; but the order of discoverers and inventors will still be a select few, and the only material variation in their proportion to the bulk of mankind will be, that the mass of the ignorant multitude being progressively diminished, the body of those will be incalculably increased who are worthy to admire genius, and able to bestow upon its possessors an immortal fame.

To those, too, who feel alarmed as statesmen, and friends of existing establishments, I would address a few words of comfort. Real knowledge never promoted either turbulence or unbelief; but its progress is the forerunner of liberality and enlightened toleration. Whoso dreads these, let him tremble; for he may be well assured that their day is at length come and must put to sudden flight the evil spirits of tyranny and persecution, which haunted the long night now gone down the sky. As men will no longer suffer themselves to be led blindfold in ignorance, so will they no more yield to the vile principle of judging and treating their fellow creatures, not according to the intrinsic merit of their actions, but according to the accidental and involuntary coincidence of their opinions. The Great Truth has finally gone forth to all the ends of the earth, THAT MAN SHALL NO MORE RENDER ACCOUNT TO MAN FOR HIS BELIEF, OVER WHICH HE HAS HIMSELF NO CONTROL. Henceforward, nothing shall prevail upon us to praise or to blame any one for that which he can no more change

than he can the hue of his skin or the height of his stature. Henceforward, treating with entire respect those who conscientiously differ from ourselves, the only practical effect of the difference will be, to make us enlighten the ignorance on one side or the other from which it springs, by instructing them, if it be theirs; ourselves, if it be our own, to the end that the only kind of unanimity may be produced which is desirable among rational beings—the agreement proceeding from full conviction after the freest discussion. Far then, very far, from the universal spread of knowledge being the object of just apprehension to those who watch over the peace of the country, or have a deep interest in the permanence of her institutions, its sure effect will be the removal of the only dangers that threaten the public tranquillity, and the addition of all that is wanting to confirm her internal strength.

Let me therefore indulge in the hope, that, among the illustrious youths whom this ancient kingdom, famed alike for its nobility and its

learning, has produced, to continue her fame through after ages, possibly among those I now address, there may be found some one—I ask no more—willing to give a bright example to other nations in a path yet untrodden, by taking the lead of his fellow citizens,—not in frivolous amusements, nor in the degrading pursuits of the ambitious vulgar,—but in the truly noble task of enlightening the mass of his countrymen, and of leaving his own name no longer encircled, as hereto with barbaric splendour, or attached to courtly gewgaws, but illustrated by the honours most worthy of our rational nature—coupled with the diffusion of knowledge—and gratefully pronounced through all ages by millions whom his wise beneficence has rescued from ignorance and vice. To him I will say, " Homines ad Deos nullâ re propius accedunt quam salutem hominibus dando : nihil habet nec fortuna tua majus quam ut possis, nec natura tua melius quam ut velis servare quamplurimos." This is the true mark for the aim of all who either prize the enjoy-

ment of pure happiness, or set a right value upon a high and unsullied renown.—And if the benefactors of mankind, when they rest from their pious labours, shall be permitted to enjoy hereafter, as an appropriate reward of their virtue, the privilege of looking down upon the blessings with which their toils and sufferings have clothed the scene of their former existence; do not vainly imagine that, in a state of exalted purity and wisdom, the founders of mighty dynasties, the conquerors of new[illegible]es, or the more vulgar crowd of evil-doers, who [illegible] sacrificed to their own aggrandisement the good of their fellow-creatures, will be gratified by contemplating the monuments of their inglorious fame:—theirs will be the delight—theirs the triumph—who can trace the remote effects of their enlightened benevolence in the improved condition of their species, and exult in the reflection, that the prodigious change they now survey, with eyes that age and sorrow can make dim no more—of knowledge become power—virtue sharing in the dominion—superstition trampled under foot—tyranny

driven from the world—are the fruits, precious, though costly, and though late reaped, yet long enduring, of all the hardships and all the hazards they encountered here below!

THE END.

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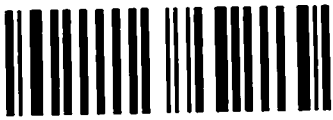
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